

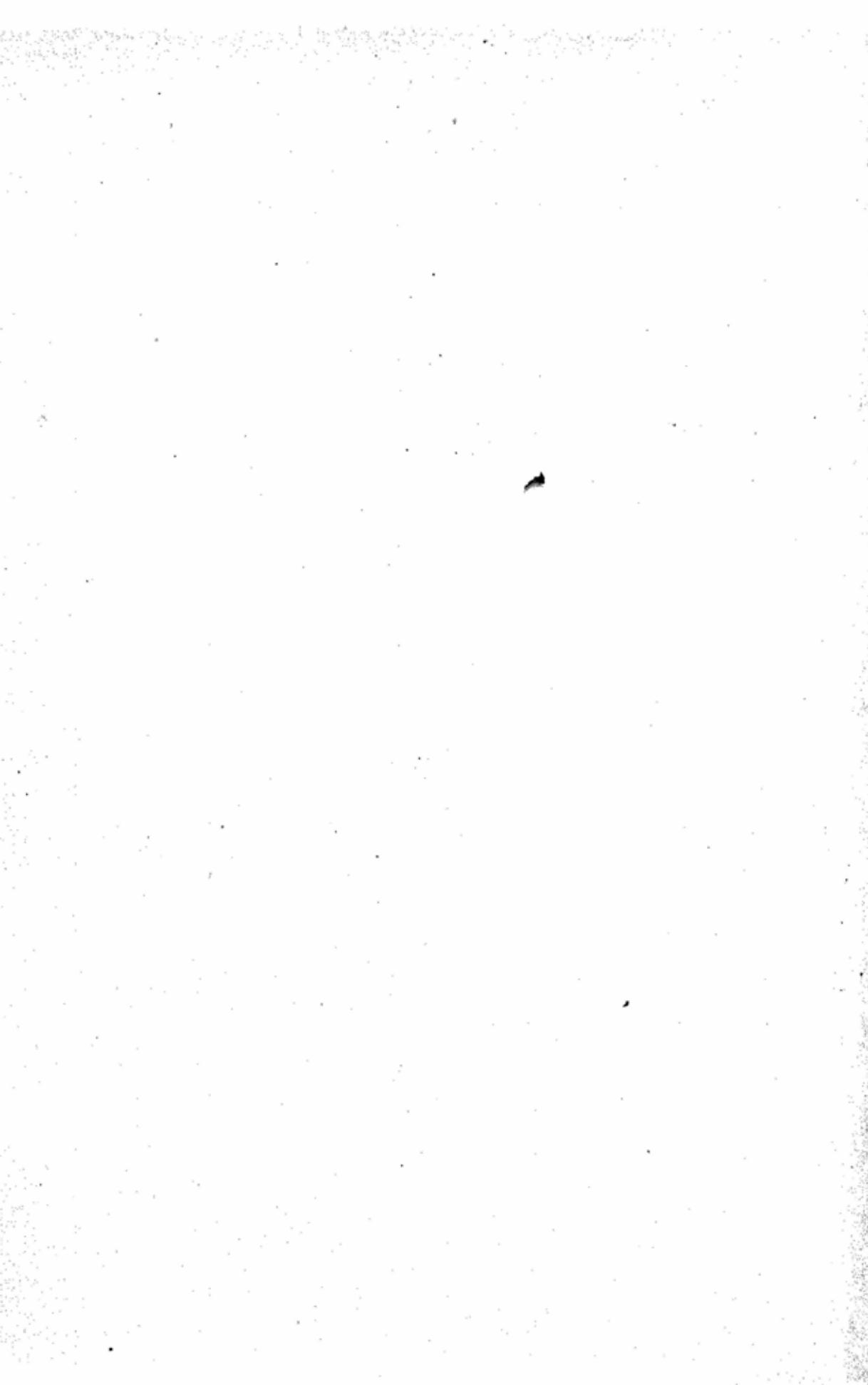
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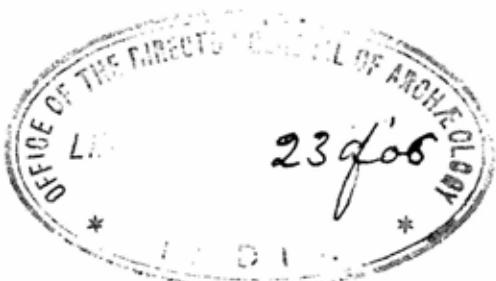
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THE ANNUAL
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.
SESSION 1895—6.

COMPRISING
THE REPORT OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE,
AND OF
MEETINGS OF SUBSCRIBERS,
TOGETHER WITH A
SELECTION FROM PAPERS READ AT THE SCHOOL,
AND OTHER COGNATE MATTER.



MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1896—1897.

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THE ANNUAL
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

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SESSION 1895-6



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British School at Athens.

THIS School is designed to give British Students of Greek Archæology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is every year becoming more and more the centre of the archæological world. The concentration in the museums there of the numerous and most important discoveries on Greek soil of the last few years has made a personal knowledge of them indispensable to a proper training; they may almost be said to hold a monopoly of the materials for the investigation of prehistoric and early archaic Art. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens—firstly, the command of an adequate library; and secondly, the advice of a trained archæologist residing on the spot, and following the rapid advances of new discovery and the rearrangement of old materials, which often render guides and handbooks almost obsolete as soon as they are published.

These advantages have for many years been enjoyed by French and German, and more recently by American, archæologists, through the Schools which they have established. It is not too much to say that by means of these institutions alone other nations have been able to carry out the researches in Olympia, Delos, and elsewhere, which quite throw into the shade any similar work done by Englishmen since Sir C. T. Newton's famous researches at Halicarnassus thirty years ago. The excavations carried out in Cyprus and in Greece by the British School during the past ten Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School is adequately supported.

Any students who bring satisfactory testimonials of their qualifications are admitted to enjoy the use of the library of the School and the advice of the Director free of charge. The conditions imposed are that they shall make a serious and systematic study of some branch of Greek archæology, history, or philology, residing for the purpose not less than three months at Athens (or elsewhere in Greek lands); and that they shall at the end of the session give the Director a report of the work which they have done. Such reports become the property of the Committee of the School, for publication or otherwise as they may think fit. Applications from intending students should be made to the Hon. Sec., G. A. MACMILLAN, Esq., 29, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London. Mr. MACMILLAN will also be happy to supply any further information.

The present income of the School (including the grant of £500 from the Government) is about £1,200 a year, of which a considerable part is secured for three years from this date. Substantial aid is still, however, needed to maintain the School in a permanent state of efficiency. Donations or annual subscriptions will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer, WALTER LEAF, Esq., 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

November, 1897.

THE
ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS

JULY 13th, 1896.

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on Monday, July 13, 1896, the Right Honourable JOHN MORLEY, M.P., in the chair. Among those present were Sir John and Lady Evans, the Provost of Oriel, Professor Pelham, Mr. F. C. Penrose, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Dr. R. N. Cust, Mr. Theodore Bent, Professor Baldwin Brown, Mr. H. Yates Thompson, Mr. H. H. Statham, Mr. C. W. Mitchell, and Mr. Walter Leaf.

The Hon. Secretary MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN, read the following Report on behalf of the Managing Committee.

REPORT OF MANAGING COMMITTEE FOR SESSION 1895-6.

THE Managing Committee have the pleasure to report a thoroughly satisfactory session. As subscribers know, the finances of the School were last year put on a firmer basis, and the feeling of comparative security has greatly facilitated its operations. In the course of July, Mr. Cecil Smith, of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, was appointed Director, having received special leave of absence from the Trustees of the Museum to enable him to take up the post for two sessions. For this concession, which implies recognition of the School as an institution of national importance, the best thanks of the Committee are due to the Trustees. The number of students has been up to the average, and the work done or initiated has been of excellent quality.

The Director will, as usual, report in detail as to the work of the School, and of individual students, but it may be said here that in all six were admitted or re-admitted. Of former students, Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet, Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student, has been out for his third session, and Mr. J. G. Smith, of Magdalen College, Oxford, for his second session. Of the new students, Mr. Duncan Mackenzie, a former student of the University of Edinburgh, who has since pursued a thorough course of training in archæology at Munich and Vienna, culminating in a brilliant degree at the last-named University, went on to the School, with a special grant from the Committee. A similar grant enabled the Rev. Archibald Paterson, also a member of the University of Edinburgh, to go out to Athens late in the session to work at Christian antiquities. Another student who went out late, and is still in Greece, is Mr. C. C. Edgar, scholar of Oriel College, Oxford, and now holder of the Craven University fellowship. Finally, the Committee found themselves at last able to carry out an idea which they have long had in view, by appointing an architectural student who should be fully qualified to make the plans and measurements which are so essential a part of excavation. The choice of the Committee fell upon Mr. Charles R. R. Clark, who has entirely justified his appointment by zealous and efficient work.

Studentships were, as in former years, offered to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; but unfortunately, no well-qualified candidates were forthcoming. The offer has already been renewed for next session, and it may be hoped that this time it will have better results. Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to record that both Universities continue to show a benevolent interest in the School, and to recognise its usefulness as an extension of their own sphere of work. During the past session the University of Cambridge has for the first time found it possible to assist the School directly by a grant of £100 a year for three years, made out of the Worts Fund; while during the past few weeks the University of Oxford has renewed, for a fourth term of three years, its annual grant of the same sum. It should be added that means were taken during the past year to bring the facilities offered by the School under the notice of the Scottish Universities, of Trinity College, Dublin, and of other University bodies in England. It was in this way

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that Mr. Paterson came to present himself as a Student, and it is hoped that, in course of time, Students will be forthcoming from all parts of the United Kingdom, and even from the Colonies.

Besides the regular students, a title which is only given to those who can spend not less than three months in Greece, and are prepared to undertake a report upon some definite piece of research, mention should be made of others who during the past session have taken more or less part in the work of the School, or have availed themselves of the use of the Library and other privileges which the Director has at his disposal. Mr. Vincent Corbett, Secretary of the British Legation in Athens, though unable to qualify as a Student, has, as an Honorary Student, done good service to the School, bearing a share in collecting the topographical material, which will be referred to later, and accompanying the Director in his preliminary journey of investigation to Melos. The Rev. A. H. Cruikshank, Assistant Master at Winchester, Dr. E. J. Lambert, Miss Dabis, Lecturer at Holloway College, and Miss Paterson were also pursuing archaeological studies in Athens, and found the School very helpful, as did Mr. J. M. Fletcher and Mr. Kitson, who came on from Italy to complete a careful study of classical architecture.

Professor Bury, of Dublin, who was in Athens in 1895, came out again in the spring of the present year to carry further his enquiries into Greek history and topography. In the case of mature scholars who might thus visit Athens and avail themselves of the conveniences of study afforded by the School, the Committee has for some time past had in contemplation the possibility of attaching them directly to the School without laying upon them the obligations of an ordinary Student. The problem has been solved during the past session by the creation of a new class of Associates, who are to enjoy the privileges of membership *honoris causa*. The new title was first offered to and accepted by Professor Bury, Mr. Arthur Evans, and the Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.

The improved financial position has enabled the Committee to make substantial additions to the School Library. The Director took an early opportunity of re-arranging the books, with the assistance of some of the Students, and bringing up to date the catalogue, which is now for the first time being printed. He also made a careful list of

Libri Desiderati; in selecting from which the books to be purchased in the first instance, the Committee adopted the principle, which is not uncommon in the case of college libraries, of attempting completeness in one special department. Therefore, while adding many important books on general archæology, etc., a considerable part of the sum was expended on books of travel. The Director conferred with the Directors of other Foreign Institutes before selecting this department as the strong point of the British library, and it is hoped that each School will, as time goes on, specialise in a different department, so that the libraries may be mutually helpful to students of all nationalities. This will be all the more possible if, as Mr. Smith has suggested, the other Schools should also print their library catalogues. In this respect, as in others, the Director has had continually in view the possibility of establishing even closer relations than have hitherto existed between the various Schools and with the Greek Archæological Society, so that in the end they might constitute a kind of international archæological university. This may seem at present to be a dream, but its fulfilment, if it ever were practicable, would surely do good service not only to scholarship and research, but to the comity of nations.

While thus looking forward to the possibilities of co-operation from without, the Director has also tried to co-ordinate the inner work of the School by instituting some piece of research in which, as opportunity offered, all the Students might take part without interfering with any work in which they might separately be engaged. Mr. Smith selected for this purpose the systematic collection of all the passages in ancient writers, or in inscriptions, which illustrate the topography of Greece. The result will be a work of permanent value, which must reflect credit on the institution which produced it. At the same time it is work which, under proper superintendence, can well be distributed among successive sets of students until the whole is complete. The Director will himself explain the plan in detail, and what progress has been made with it during the past session.

We pass now to the question of excavations, which have always been regarded as an important branch of the operations of the School. One of Mr. Smith's first duties was to consider the available sites, and to recommend that which should first be taken in hand. After conferring with the archæological authorities, both native and foreign, and making

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

a personal examination of some of the sites which seemed most promising, he made a careful report to the Committee in favour of the Island of Melos. His recommendation was adopted, and work was begun about the middle of March, and carried on steadily until the end of May, with, on the whole, very encouraging results. It must be borne in mind that this first season's operations have been professedly tentative; more than one site has been tested and abandoned; others have been so far worked as to show that larger results are likely to follow more extensive efforts. The funds available have been carefully husbanded, so that any site of special promise may be fully developed next season. But considering that scarcely more than £150 have been spent in all, the Committee feel that the School and the Subscribers have every reason to be satisfied. Details will be given by the Director, but it may be said here that attention was mainly devoted to four sites: (1) Klima, on the coast, below the ancient city of Melos; (2) Trypete, a village above the city, where the excavators lived during their stay on the island, and where some Dipylon tombs were opened and fragments of vases found, and also some tombs of the sixth century B.C., which yielded a really beautiful series of ornaments in gold and silver; (3) Tramythia, near Klima, where, among other things, was found a mosaic pavement which, for completeness and for beauty of design and coloring, compares favourably with any that had previously been found in Greece; and (4) Phylakopi, where undoubted traces of a Mycenæan city have been discovered, which should amply repay further investigation. Of these sites Klima alone was disappointing. There was good ground for believing that sculpture of, at any rate, the fourth or third century B.C. might be obtained; but the indications proved illusory, and the main results were a number of inscriptions and additional information as to the plan and extent of the ancient city. Mr. Smith himself directed the work in Melos for the first few weeks, with the help of Mr. Mackenzie, and when he returned to Athens to be present during the Olympic Games, and at the time when English visitors were chiefly to be expected, Mr. Bosanquet, who had meanwhile been in charge at Athens, came out with Mr. Clark to assume the direction of the work in Melos; which was, however, again visited by Mr. Smith before his return to England. Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Kitson also assisted in Melos, as did Mr. Wedd, Fellow, and Mr. Hemingway,

Scholar of King's College, Cambridge, who were out for a time about Easter.

But besides the excavations in Melos, the Director was enabled also, through the generosity of two friends, who placed a sum of money at his private disposal, and through the courtesy of the Greek authorities, to undertake for the first time some excavations in Athens itself. In the choice of the site, and in other practical details throughout the work, Mr. Smith was advised by Dr. Dörpfeld, whose knowledge of Athenian topography and experience in excavation in and about the ancient city is unrivalled. The site selected, and for which the Director after long negotiations with the proprietor obtained the necessary permission, was a plot of open ground south-west of the Olympieion, on the opposite bank of the Ilissos. Here there is a plateau between two hills, which, in Dr. Dörpfeld's view, seemed likely to be the site of the Kynosarges, with its gymnasium and its shrine of Herakles. Mr. Smith will himself explain how far this theory has been confirmed by excavation; but, at any rate, under a mass of later work traces have been found of a large building which, in extent and construction, might well be a gymnasium. In working over the ground upwards of eighty tombs were found, mostly of the geometric period. These excavations yielded many fragments of geometric vases, sepulchral inscriptions, part of a very fine stele of the early part of the fourth century B.C., and fragments of a large early Attic amphora, which is an important monument for the history of vases, of a period which is as yet but little represented. In an adjoining field were found remains of a Roman colonnade, and also an important water conduit, which seemed to be connected with a gymnasium of the time of Hadrian. The Director and Mr. Bosanquet shared the superintendence of these excavations, except for a few days when both were absent, and Mr. Theodore Bent was good enough to assume the direction. Our cordial thanks are due to Mr. Bent for his valuable assistance, and similar acknowledgments should be made to the generous donors, Mr. C. W. Mitchell and an anonymous friend of the School, who provided the funds for the work, and to Dr. Dörpfeld for his invaluable aid as an adviser.

It will have been seen that Mr. Smith has succeeded in maintaining the cordial relations with the other foreign Schools in Athens which it has always been the aim of the Committee and of former Directors to promote.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

The kindness of the Director of the German Institute has been mentioned. M. Homolle, the Director of the French School, has been no less courteous, and in particular afforded Mr. Smith every facility for seeing the treasures which are now collected at Delphi. With the American School, as is natural, the closest and most friendly intercourse has been carried on. It is only right to add that M. Cavvadias, the Greek Ephor General of Antiquities, has shewn every readiness to meet the wishes of the Director; and the Committee desire to express their thanks for the assistance thus rendered by him and his colleagues to the operations of the School.

It was stated in last year's Report that the Committee had decided in future to print the Report in a more attractive form, and to issue with it some papers of a popular character which might illustrate the work of the School. The first number of this *Annual*, containing, besides the Committee's Report, a record of the various proceedings which led up to the meeting at St. James's Palace, in July, 1895, of that meeting itself, and of the Annual Meeting of Subscribers, together with three or four papers of general interest, and a few illustrations, was issued soon after Christmas, and has been very well received. It is, of course, not intended that this Annual should represent the whole work of the School. The more elaborate papers produced by its members will, as before, be offered to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

The financial position of the School, though still below that of its rivals, is now upon a footing which is comparatively satisfactory. The annual subscriptions, as will be seen by the accounts appended, now amount to over £860 per annum—about double those of the previous year. Over £1,300 of donations have been invested, and the School now possesses a permanent income of £60 per annum. The Government grant of £500 per annum for five years is on the estimates now before the House of Commons, and the Committee believe that they may thus confidently reckon upon an annual income of £1,400 per annum for some years to come. Of this it is estimated that about £1,000 will be required for the current expenses of the School (including studentships), leaving about £400 per annum for excavations. The charge for house maintenance for the current year, £150, is largely of the nature of extraordinary expenditure, as the Committee found it necessary to devote a considerable sum to the fabric and furniture of

the School, which had for the last five years suffered from the want of available funds.

Turning to Capital Account, the Committee desire to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of the following, among other, liberal donations since the issue of the last report:—Dr. Abercrombie, £10; Prof. Bywater, £25; Mrs. Bywater, £10 10s.; Mr. E. H. Egerton, £10; The Greek Play Committee at Cambridge, £25; The Clothworkers' Company, £100; Mr. A. Harris, £20; the late Baron Hirsch, £100; Mr. C. E. Johnston, £10; Lord Loch, £5; the Misses Monk, £5; Messrs. Rothschild & Sons, £250; the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, £31 10s.; the late Mrs. Edwin Waterhouse, £25; and Mr. A. P. Whately, £10; as well as the following special donations to the Library: Mr. A. G. Bather, £5; Miss Cruddas, £3; Mr. V. Corbett, £2; Miss Dabis, £4; Mr. Cecil Smith, £20; Mrs. Cecil Smith, £10; Mr. J. G. Smith, £5. Some valuable books have been presented by Sir Wollaston Franks and others, while Miss Yule has kindly given two Exhibition Cases to hold a few antiquities, forming the nucleus of a School Museum, which, it is hoped, may, in course of time, become a useful and attractive addition to the School apparatus.

Against the donations is charged, as usual, the amount spent on the Library and the sum required, with the approval of the auditors, to write the cost of the investment down to par. The remaining item, "Excess of expenditure over income," may be taken roughly to represent (1), the amount of extraordinary expenditure on house maintenance; (2) the cost of excavations at Melos, on which the Committee decided to embark in anticipation of the Government grant.

Looking to the future, there is one development to which the Committee attach great importance. Ever since the School was first opened, in 1886, it has been contemplated that when funds allowed, and when the School was established on a firm basis, the Director's house, with the School Library, should be supplemented by Students' quarters in or near the School. The Managing Committee believe that the time has now come for carrying out this intention, and have therefore decided to invite subscriptions towards a special Building Fund for the purpose.

Hitherto the Students have found accommodation in various hotels

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

or private lodgings in Athens, necessarily at a considerable distance from the School. The disadvantage to Students of living so far from the Library and from the natural centre of the School work is obvious, and it is aggravated at times of excessive heat or otherwise unfavourable weather. It is believed also that the Students could live more economically in the proposed hostel, where meals would be provided under their own management. To the School itself it cannot be doubted that the advantage would be great of having its members collected close at hand, and living a common life under one roof. Real co-operation in work, and the mutual intercourse which is so valuable a feature in academic life at home, could thus be far better secured than is now possible.

The Committee propose to erect a Hostel at the lower end of the School temenos, which shall contain accommodation for at least nine Students, with a mess room, bath rooms, kitchen, and quarters for a caretaker. The School would provide the services of a caretaker, and the Students would be charged a small rent for the use of their rooms. The Committee have ascertained that a suitable house could be built for from £800 to £900, and in order to cover the further expenses of furnishing, &c., they desire to raise not less than £1,200.* They earnestly commend this scheme to the generous support of all friends of the School.

Subscribers will have gathered from this Report that the School is in a very healthy condition, and that its prospects of still greater prosperity and of extended usefulness are brighter than ever before. The Treasury grant, the renewal, for the fourth time, of the grant from the University of Oxford, the grant voted for the first time by the University of Cambridge, the large increase in private donations and subscriptions which resulted from the special efforts of last year, are all encouraging signs; and although even now the financial position is, in the absence of a permanent endowment, not wholly free from anxiety, it may be hoped that so long as the efficiency of the School is made the first object of those who are responsible for its management, it will never again be allowed to suffer in stability from the lack of adequate support. At the same time, as nothing succeeds like success, it must be the constant aim of all friends of the School to promote its prosperity by every means in their power.

* Later estimates and modifications of plan bring the probable total to about £1,500.—ED.

In moving the adoption of the Report the Chairman said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen.—You have heard the Report read and upon me falls the very agreeable duty of moving that it be adopted. You will expect a few words from me in support of that motion, but I must begin by saying that I feel a considerable degree of presumption in occupying the chair here to-day, surrounded as I see myself to be by archæologists and scholars of the very highest eminence, as I am unfortunately neither one nor the other. I am not quite so bad, however, as the University Principal of whom we have read in the “Vicar of Wakefield,” who when he was visited by the philosophical vagabond in the story, who hoped that he should make his fortune by his knowledge of Greek, said, “You see me, young man; I have never learned Greek, and I don’t find that I have ever missed it. I have a doctor’s cap and gown without Greek, I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek, I eat heartily without Greek, and, in short, as I don’t know Greek, I don’t see the good of it.” I am not, thanks to Oxford and other places of education, quite in so bad a case as that. On the contrary I may say this—that as one grows older, there is no branch of literature which seems to me more calculated to give refreshment and exhilaration to one’s spirits than the good Greek authors. However, as I am here, I must congratulate all of you, and my friends, the Secretary and Director, upon the excellent report of which it is my duty to move the adoption. I suppose we may take it as perfectly clear that the School has never before had so satisfactory a meeting as the meeting which you are holding to-day. Your resources are modest, too modest, I think, when I perceive that the French School has got £3,100 a year, apart from a grant of £30,000 for special work; when I see that the German School has £2,400 besides a contribution, most honourable to the German Government, of £40,000, for the excavations at Olympia, and when I see that even the United States—sometimes supposed to be less sympathetic in the matter of ancient learning than other and older countries—provide £2,000 a year, whereas you have to do all your work on something like £1,400 a year. You receive, for the first time this year, I think, a grant of £500 from the Government, for I suppose, as the Secretary said, it will be voted in a few days. It is quite true that that £500 is only promised for a period of five years, but I may confide to you that when you have

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

once got a grant from the Government—and this is a truth against which there is something to be said, but not on this occasion—it will be your own fault if you ever let it go. Still, as your report says, if you are private individuals instead of a sort of corporation, your condition is precarious, and you have not got that comfort and security which would be yours if you were subsidised and doing your work upon a permanent and assured endowment. In the meantime, however, you must do the best you can, and it is very clear that you are doing the best you can, with what, I suspect, are the very modest resources at your disposal. I had thought, till two or three weeks ago, that perhaps the Universities ought to make more ample contributions than they do. It struck me that £100 a year from Oxford and £100 this year from Cambridge, were very small sums, but when I was at Oxford the other day, the Public Orator, in a speech of great wit, but with dark passages in it, warned all those who heard him that the University, so far from having a great and opulent balance sheet, was at this moment, and was likely perhaps in an increasing degree, to become in the future, a body, not only without a superfluity of funds, but a body rather in need of further supplies. Therefore, though I hope you can look to the Universities for a continuance of the modest contributions they now make to you, you cannot fairly look to them, their revenues being so largely dependent upon the land, for any considerable addition to their present subscription. I think, therefore, you will have to look to private sources and private zeal and interest in your objects. That distinguished man, the Prime Minister, the other day, in speaking on quite a different subject from this, threw out a suggestion that there were those who were the possessors of millions in South Africa who might perhaps be induced to relieve Great Britain of some of her moral obligations in another part of Africa. I think that is a very fertile suggestion quite outside the political region. If there are those millions going, I think surely some of you who have great authority on these subjects, who have great powers of persuasion, might approach some of these gentlemen; and I should not at all despair of your getting from them sums which would land you in clover for a very considerable time to come, and enable you to carry out some of those special explorations for which funds are necessary.

How much good can be done by these special gifts, or bequests, was shown the other day in the case of what is called the Turner bequest. I chanced to see in the British Museum on Friday last, some of the results of the explorations carried on in Cyprus by means of that fund, and I am quite sure that anyone who takes the least interest in archæology, and should happen to have one or two thousand pounds to spare, as the lady who gave that bequest had, would feel stimulated by the sight of what can be done in this important work by very modest sums. Of course you know, as I think was said in the Report, your work will be tested. You have now something like a five years' run before you, and the willingness of persons of means, and the willingness even of the Government, will undoubtedly be affected by the good work that is done in the interval. Of course, you do not want any exhortation from me to show how much the future of the School depends upon the work of the next three or four years.

Ladies and Gentlemen, after all, funds are important, and in one sense they are all important; but besides funds you must, in this great field of activity, as in others, have a man and men of ardour and zeal for the great work to be done, and in that connection it would hardly be fitting to-day not to notice the disappearance of one of the greatest and most memorable names in the whole field, I suppose, of Hellenic archæology. In the fulness of years Professor Curtius has gone, after a life of industry, enthusiasm, and genius, devoted without break and without pause to the great spirit of human knowledge. This is not the occasion, and least of all am I the man, to pretend to weigh the relative greatness of Thirlwall, Grote, and Curtius. It is a great canon, I have always thought, in all forms of criticism, as laid down by a Frenchman one hundred years ago, that you should have preferences, but no exclusions. That is a great canon, and it is well to apply it to this question, which comes into one's mind when one reads the item of news to-day. It is well to remember that there are high authorities who value Mr. Grote's history for vigorous comprehension of the political ideas and the political institutions of Athenian democracy. The same high authorities value Thirlwall for his history of Alexander and his successors, and then again the work of Finlay, who spanned the whole Hellenic history from beginning to end—his work has been thought worthy to be described by Professor Freeman as the greatest contri-

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bution to historical literature since Gibbon. All these high authorities, who have their own favourites, agree that in geography, in the interpretation of art, in the reproduction of the life of an age, Dr. Curtius succeeded in making his picture human and real and intelligible to a degree unequalled, so far as my small knowledge goes, by any other worker in the sphere of ancient history.

One more word ought to be said—The greatest of all his achievements, in respect of Hellenic archæology, was the exploration of Olympia, which, as most people are aware, was chiefly due to him—was inspired by his perseverance, his insight, and the infectious ardour of his interest in the subject. Ladies and Gentlemen, of course opinions differ as to the value of what my friend, Mr. Jebb, calls “salvage from centuries of ruin”; but so far as particular works of art are concerned, as Mr. Jebb has said, the work of Curtius at Olympia produced the largest gain possible in such fields, because the largest gain of all consists in a vivid and suggestive light shed, as Mr. Jebb truly calls it, on a great centre of Hellenic history and life.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, on the real subject I can say really nothing that would either be of interest or of value. I remember Dean Stanley used to say that he found it hard to believe that a thing had happened unless he had been to the place. Mr. Freeman, that learned man, said, “You cannot, so at least I have found it, fully take in the history of the world, its lands and its cities, except by working at each historic spot on itself.” Of course, we cannot all go to Athens or Syracuse, or Constantinople, but those who have been there will be obviously all the better able to teach us the lessons that they have learnt there, and from those lessons to vivify the subjects in which we are interested. I think Freeman was right when he said that the finished historian must be a traveller, and must see the very spots where great events have occurred. I observe that at one of your meetings, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the head of Queen’s College, told you that they found that the scholars who came back to Oxford, having had the advantage that is provided in Athens, were able to do things for Oxford studies which, without that, could not have been done. I sometimes question whether—if you will not think that I am a skeleton at the feast—whether the glories, the characteristic glories of Greek literature, its

beauty, its vivid light and its freedom, are not in a considerable degree independent of archaeology. I sometimes think that may be possible, but be that as it may, the light that archaeological discovery and interpretation sheds on history and upon the social life of ancient and remote communities is beyond all dispute and disparagement. I am struck in the matter of the religious beliefs of the antique ages by the new sciences, as one may almost say, archaeology brings into the sky.

It is not for me to compare the relative value of the sure keys to popular beliefs in those remote times—it is not for me to say which is the surer key, Literature or Monuments. But I think you only need turn to such a book, for example, as a book which has quite recently come out, Mr. Farnell's book on the "Cults of the Greek States," or to what I venture to think a still more remarkable and far-reaching mixture of speculation and accumulation of fact—Mr. Frazer's book on "The Golden Bough." You need only turn to a book of that kind to see how efficiently archaeology may help us to surprise, in the midst of great masses of uncouth and heterogeneous facts, strange secrets in the mysterious modes and simple faiths of the older world. All this work is no mere dilettantism. The work that you do, and go on doing, is marked by the right spirit and the true zeal of sound and thorough scientific learning, and that being so, Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe that the work that your School is doing is work which adds greatly to the valuable stores of human knowledge, which greatly stimulates human thought, and which, if it is carried out in a large way, will add to the renown of this country.

The motion was seconded by SIR JOHN EVANS, who expressed his great satisfaction at the progress made by the School during the past year. The Report was unanimously adopted.

The Director of the School, MR. CECIL SMITH, read parts of the following Report.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR FOR THE SESSION 1895-6.

Since the last annual report was issued the School has entered upon a new phase of its existence. By the grant of money promised last summer, the Government have for the first time recognised our

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claim to national consideration and relieved the Committee of their more pressing anxieties; and this recognition has been, as it were, still further confirmed by the action of the Trustees of the British Museum in allowing one of their staff to accept the office of Director. In taking this step it was understood that they were partly actuated by the consideration of the gain to the Service which such an opportunity offered to an official whose Museum work lay in the study of Greek art and antiquities.

In undertaking to carry on the good work of my predecessors who have borne the burden and heat of the day, I have, therefore, enjoyed exceptional advantages. I hope that the report which I now have to lay before you will show that the progress and utility of the School has at any rate not suffered from the unwonted sensation of comparative financial prosperity.

The report of the Committee has already shown that the number of students attached to the School during the past session has been quite up to the average, while a considerable number of scholars and students who were unable to devote the full term of three months residence required by the rules were enabled to profit by the new regulation which admits duly qualified persons to the privileges of the School in the capacity of Associates.

The list of visitors who have come to the School this Session is so large that it would be difficult to name them all. I must mention, however, Her Imperial and Royal Highness the Empress Frederic, who assured me of the warm interest felt by her in our undertakings. During the spring we were delighted to welcome Mr. Penrose, who has left us one more evidence of his services to the School in the present he has made of the measuring instruments employed by him in his famous book on the Parthenon.

The special leave officially granted to me for 1895-6 was for six months; by adding to this the month of vacation to which I was entitled from the Museum, I was enabled to arrive in Athens early in November and to remain till the end of May. The autumn session of the School is usually devoted to preliminary work and exploration. At the outset I was joined by Mr. J. G. Smith, of Magdalen College, Oxford, who had previously (in the session of 1891-2) been attached to the School, and who had already considerable experience of Greece. With his

help I was enabled to set about the necessary preparations for the serious work of the session, while my time was free for making the necessary study of the topography and antiquities of Athens, and for the preparation of lectures.

Residence in Athens soon convinced me that something might now be done towards co-ordinating the work of the School, and perhaps to bring it still more closely than before into connection with the Universities at home and in the colonies. I cannot but think that if the peculiar advantages offered by Athens to the classical student were more clearly defined and more fully recognised, the institution and the public in general would equally profit. I hope I may be excused for dwelling for a moment on the facts. The advantages offered to the classical student of studying ancient Hellenic life on ancient Hellenic soil, the vivid reality which his impressions thereafter gain, the storehouse of treasures of art and antiquity unrivalled elsewhere which he meets at every turn, these are the most obvious facts and need no repetition before this audience. What, however, is not generally remembered, and what I should like to see more generally recognised, is that in Athens we have all the elements ready to hand of the finest and most varied archaeological teaching which Europe can produce. Taking this season as a fair average one, I may point out that any student of any school could have attended, if he chose, all the following courses of lectures: on the topography and monuments of Athens, on archaic art, history, sculpture, epigraphy in its philological aspect, Attic inscriptions, vases, and early Christian archaeology; all of these given by trained scholars, and some by acknowledged masters of their subjects, such as Dörpfeld and Wilhelm. Besides this, almost every week has at least one or more meetings for the discussion of archaeological questions either at one of the schools or at the Greek archaeological societies, to which all students are invited. And lastly, there are the different libraries, supplementing each other and providing amongst them material for reference and research which is quite adequate for ordinary purposes. The friendly feeling which has always existed between the different schools and the Greek learned societies, and of which I have during my term of office had grateful experience, warrants us, I think, in hoping for a still closer welding of interests. It is evident that, apart from the friendly rivalry which must always stimulate the different nationali-

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ties in Athens, there is common ground where much may be done in the direction of combined effort. I hope it will not be considered Quixotic if I say that I look forward to a day when there may be something approaching to an international archæological university in Athens.

Meanwhile, in one respect, at least, we can already do something in the joint organization of the different libraries. The British and American Schools have for some time divided the purchase of more expensive books by mutual arrangement. I should like to see the principle extended so as to embrace the other institutions, each library undertaking on a preconcerted plan to develop one special branch, independent of those cheaper works which are common necessities for all. By this means we should avoid traversing the same ground and extend our common utility. With this view, the first necessity is the circulation of catalogues, and by way of beginning I have prepared the printed catalogue of our library (at present in slip), which is here laid before you. In order to make this more worthy of its neighbours, I prepared in the winter a list of *libri desiderati*, from which, partly assisted by subscriptions, the Committee were able to purchase books to the amount of £160. These new accessions, together with upward of 150 volumes which have come to us by donation, have naturally accentuated the difficulties caused by the already crowded condition of our available space; to meet this pressure a set of new bookshelves has been constructed, and the consequent rearrangement gave the opportunity of grouping the books by shelves according to their subjects; in this task Mr. Edgar has greatly assisted me. The Director of the American School has promised to print his catalogue as soon as it can be prepared, and I hope that the other libraries may in due course follow suit. For the present our Committee have agreed to develop as our special branch the class of works which deal with topography and travel, subjects in which English archæologists have always played a prominent part.

As regards the internal operations of the School itself, there are, of course, during the winter and early spring the lectures and open meetings to attend, the museums and monuments to study, and in most cases each student has some branch of independent study to which he can devote himself. But apart from this, it seems to me that time could

well be spared for some general work which may bring students more together, and which, while too laborious for a single scholar, may be a comparatively easy method of advancing science when undertaken by a continuous and combined force like the British School. After consultation with the Committee I decided on the following scheme: I have frequently found (in the case of myself and others) the want of some work which should do for classical topography what Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* does for classical art, that is to say, a dictionary of places, buildings, &c., with a complete list of references to the mention of each in classical writers or in inscriptions; the whole arranged in handy volumes grouped according to localities. The exact form of issue would be a matter to be arranged hereafter; perhaps the best plan would be that of parallel columns, giving first the name of the place or building, secondly the reference, and thirdly an English translation of the important, and summary of the unimportant, passages. The advantage of this work seems to be that it is a fitting exercise in Greek antiquities for a student on Greek soil; that it is within everyone's capacity; and that it can be taken up or passed on at any moment. With this work considerable progress has already been made. Mr. J. G. Smith and Mr. Mackenzie especially have devoted a considerable amount of time to it, and I hope that by the end of another season we may have something substantial to show.

In a previous report Mr. Gardner described the formation of a small type collection of Greek pottery which he had got together for purposes of study in the library of the School. With the permission of Mr. Cavvadias I have been enabled to extend this excellent plan by the formation of a small type collection of antiquities at the School. Such a collection, though necessarily limited to objects of comparatively small intrinsic worth, will, it is hoped, prove valuable for purposes of study and of some interest to visitors. Most opportunely for this purpose, Miss Yule, who visited us in May, presented to the School two large glass cases, which will serve admirably as exhibition cases for our small collections.

One of my first duties was to decide on a site for excavation. For this purpose it had been suggested by Mr. Beardoe Grundy that the Messenian Pylos, with its imposing Homeric and historic associations, offered a tempting field of discovery. Accordingly, with Pylos as my

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main objective, I started on December 14th, accompanied by Professor Andrews, of Colegate University, U.S.A., and by a slight extension of programme we were enabled to visit and study several other ancient sites and excavations in the Peloponnesus. The result of a close inspection of the visible ancient remains at Pylos led us to the conclusion that the cost of any excavation on that site would be considerable, and the results not very startling. There is not a great deal of soil covering any part of the island of Sphacteria or of the ground to the north ; all the materials and labour required would have to be shipped daily from New Pylos across the bay, a work of some difficulty when the wind blows ; of this truth we had practical experience, suffering shipwreck on the return journey. On the return journey I visited the recent excavations of Sophoulis at Messene, and spent a few hours at Megalopolis, arriving back in Athens on Christmas Eve. Here I found Mr. Mackenzie had arrived two days previously from Vienna, where after working at archaeology for some time under Professor Benndorf, he had just taken a brilliant degree in the university.

During the summer of 1895 two German archaeologists, Freiherr Hiller von Gärtringen and Dr. Schiff, who were engaged in collecting inscriptions for the forthcoming volume of the Corpus of the Island Inscriptions, had spent some time in Melos, and reported very favourably of its prospects from the point of view of excavation. All that I could hear in Athens from scholars who had visited the island seemed to confirm this impression, and by a coincidence Mr. Cavvadias happened to offer the School this island. I therefore determined to make a preliminary investigation, and early in January sailed from Athens. I may here remark that after arriving at this decision, I learnt that the American School had also intended to try their fortune in Melos, but on hearing of our plan Professor Richardson, with his unfailing courtesy, at once resigned his intention in our favour. In the journey to Melos I was accompanied by Mr. J. G. Smith and Mr. Corbett, secretary of Legation and Honorary Student of the School, both of whom rendered me much assistance in the work which we had in hand. Our stay in Melos was unintentionally prolonged to nearly ten days, owing to violent storms, which made it impossible to leave the island ; the discomforts, however, which we must otherwise have suffered during this enforced detention, were to a certain extent minimised by the hospitality of Mr.

Gielerakis, the British Consular Agent, who not only entertained us most generously, but facilitated our task by every means in his power. For this, as for his many services subsequently rendered during the excavation, I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing our gratitude. The result of our enquiries and investigations went to show that the reports which we had heard of the richness of the island in antiquities, were fairly justified; the principal drawback lay in the fact that for nearly a century it had served as the happy hunting ground for collectors, scientific and otherwise; it was scarcely to be expected that the locality which had produced the famous Aphrodite, not to speak of the Blacas Asklepios, the Apollo of Melos, and the Poseidon in the Athenian Museum, should have remained unexplored. But, from what we could discover, most of the previous excavations had been unsystematic, and there was still plenty of room, and, indeed, much need for a more complete and systematic undertaking. On the strength of our report the Committee decided that the excavation of Melos should be begun in the middle of March.

On the 14th of January Mr. Charles Clark, the architect appointed by the Committee, arrived in Athens, and at once set to work, studying the monuments of Athens and preparing himself in other ways for the duties of his post, acquiring especially a knowledge of such building plans and architectural detail as would give him a general purview of the kind of work which would avail him in the School excavations. In this work he had the advantage of the companionship of Mr. Dickie, the architect attached to the Palestine Exploration Fund researches in Jerusalem, who arrived early in January with his chief, Dr. Bliss, and attached himself as Associate to the School.

During the latter part of February and beginning of March, I delivered a course of lectures in the Central Museum, which were well attended by the British and American Schools, and residents in Athens; and Mr. Weld-Blundell, who had for a short time attached himself to the School, gave a lecture on the researches at Cyrene which he had carried out in the preceding year.

As a preliminary to our work in Melos I was fortunate in being able to undertake a smaller excavation in Athens itself, which, I think, may claim to have been a fairly successful operation. Mr. C. W. Mitchell and another personal friend had most generously placed at

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my private disposal a sum for the purpose of excavation; and it occurred to me that it might be usefully employed in an experimental digging, which might not only give us all some valuable experience preliminary to our undertaking in Melos, but would possibly give the School a share, however small, in the great work of pushing forward the knowledge of Athenian topography. With this view I consulted Dr. Dörpfeld, who most kindly gave me his valuable advice and help in the selection of a site. The spot we chose is that which (contrary to the generally accepted idea) he believed to be the site of Kynosarges, where the shrine of Heracles and one of the three early Gymnasia of Athens lay, a plot of ground due south of the Olympieion, on the opposite bank of the Ilissos, slightly to the west of the road to Sunium, and not far from the supposed site of Kallirrhœ. Here there is a plateau lying between two hills; on the left-hand hill are traces of ancient tombs; on the right-hand hill is a small church, which for various reasons is considered to mark the site of an ancient temple. Now we know that the family tomb of Isocrates was in Kynosarges on "the hill on the left" (*ὁ λόφος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ*); it is, therefore, clear that there must have been two hills, one on each side of the gymnasium; if the tomb of Isocrates stood on the left-hand hill, the temple of Heracles may very well have stood on the opposite hill; furthermore, we are told by Herodotus, that the Athenians after Marathon were afraid lest the Persians coming round by the sea should attack Phalerum; to guard against this they marched direct to the temple of Heracles in Kynosarges. To anyone who looks at the map of Athens it is clear that no position could be better chosen for such a purpose than the right-hand hill of which we are speaking; it practically commands the Phalerum road, no trireme could possibly pass up the Saronic Gulf without being seen from it, and in case retreat within the walls became necessary, two of the main gates of the city were within a few hundred yards.

After much trouble and negotiations, and some delay, we were at last able to commence operations on March 10th. The delay had, however, one good result. The German excavations in the 'Οδὸς Πλοεῖῶνος had just been concluded and we were able to engage their foreman and a gang of their best workmen. Our starting point was from the south edge of the plateau where some remains of ancient masonry showed on the surface. These proved eventually to be parts

of a large but somewhat loosely constructed Roman building, which seems at a later period to have been converted into a Byzantine Church. This uppermost stratum yielded some interesting specimens of Byzantine Architecture and Inscriptions and a remarkable Byzantine monastic seal in terra-cotta, almost complete. Below the Roman buildings there soon appeared the foundations of an important wall, apparently belonging to a large public building, of which we have been able to discover much of the plan. This wall, though of rubble construction, contains no evidence which can positively be assigned to a late date, but on the contrary compares best with the method of building found elsewhere in remains of the sixth century B.C. That it served to support good masonry is shown by the fact that at one point we found a block in position resting in the upper surface of the rubble, and that the corners, which were probably of large blocks, have been entirely carried away. The building was evidently razed to its foundations, and this will perhaps explain the fact that we found no inscriptions or sculptures which might serve to identify it. As far as can be judged from the foundations, the general shape and size are such as would very well suit an early Greek gymnasium. On the north and west sides are the remains of an ancient road, with drain pipes which would seem to belong to an early date. Both within and without the plan of the building, the ground was a perfect warren of tombs, upwards of sixty being discovered; but we noticed that whereas the tombs outside the building belonged to all kinds of dates, those inside the Gymnasium were invariably either earlier than the sixth or later than the fourth century B.C. In one case the wall of the Gymnasium seems to have been interrupted by a tomb of the third century, showing that the building must have been disused before that date. Turning now to the literary evidence, we find that the Gymnasium of Kynosarges must have been in existence at least at the beginning of the sixth century, for a law of Solon mentions the penalty incurred by any one stealing a lekythos or a cloak from it. On the other hand, Livy says that it was destroyed by Philip of Macedon; so that it must have been existing at least from the sixth to the third century, or precisely the time to which our excavated building seems to have belonged. Thus I think we may be said to have good grounds for claiming to have discovered the Gymnasium of Kynosarges. Nor was this the only

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result ; the excavation, especially of the tombs, produced a fair harvest of actual antiquities. Among these may be mentioned especially some fragments of a beautiful marble stèle of the best period, fragments of a magnificent figured vase of seventh century Attic work, which presents new and interesting features in the history of vase painting, and a large series of vases of the Geometric style, including a tall amphora which contained among the calcined bones an iron knife and two gold bandeaux with Geometric designs.

While this excavation was in progress, the opportunity occurred of breaking fresh ground in an adjoining field, where the outcrop of some ancient masonry seemed to promise important results : the first hour's work brought to light a portion of a large Roman building, apparently part of a colonnade or stoa enclosing an oblong space ; the inner edge of the pavement was grooved to form a gutter, probably to catch the rain falling from a roof sloping inwards : and along the inner side, at a depth of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres, runs a subterranean watercourse beautifully constructed, in Roman tilework, and still in almost perfect preservation, with square tile-built shafts at regular intervals communicating with the surface. By crawling along this we were able to ascertain the position of the corner of the building, which we laid bare : with these results, and with the help of the traces remaining on the surface at the west side, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Bosanquet have together drawn up a plan. From what we have done so far it is evident that the building was one of great importance, with a side of no less than 230 feet, corresponding most nearly perhaps, in style, to the stoa of Hadrian ; the frequent shafts giving access to the water-conduit are a new feature which would have a special appropriateness if the building is to be considered as a gymnasium. Until the excavations have been completed, it would be hazardous to advance any definite conclusion : but on the face of it, it would seem as if this had been a building constructed by Hadrian, in connection with his other schemes for beautifying this part of Athens, and intended to replace the destroyed Greek Gymnasium of Kynosarges : possibly the fact that the ancient site had long been given over to the purposes of burial may have caused the Roman builder to move farther to the north.

On March 17th Mr. Mackenzie and I started for Melos, and Mr. Bosanquet remained in charge of the Athenian excavations until shortly

before Easter, when he also came to Melos. I returned to Athens on Easter Eve in order to be present at the Olympic Games, when many visitors were expected to be in Athens: to my duties towards the visitors were added those towards the Committee of the Games, who had done the School the honour to place my name on the list of the Committee. I may here say that as a souvenir of this honour, H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Greece has most graciously presented to the School Museum a copy of the medal which was given as a prize to winners in the Games. In the interval between Mr. Bosanquet's departure and my return to Athens, Mr. Theodore Bent most kindly undertook the superintendence of the Kynosarges excavations. During the Games Mr. Clark and I shared this duty; but when towards the middle of April our presence was required in Melos, we were obliged to break off the Athenian operations: what little still remains to be done there we hope to complete in the autumn. From beginning to end the excavations were visited by a great number of both residents and visitors, who expressed great interest in the work.

The results of our season's work at Melos are given as a separate article herewith. Beside, however, the actual excavations and explorations therein recorded, I must not omit to mention that we succeeded in discovering nearly fifty unpublished Greek inscriptions, some in our own excavations, but mostly in the houses of villagers. Considering that the island had only a few months previously been well searched by German scholars, this may be regarded as a fair record. These inscriptions, together with the bulk of the results of our excavations, will be published as soon as possible in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Before closing, I should like to tender my sincere thanks to the authorities of the Greek Government, to the Directors of the other schools in Athens, especially to Prof. Richardson and Dr. Dörpfeld, and Mr. Egerton, H.B.M.'s Minister, who have extended to me all the friendly assistance and encouragement which are, I believe, among the traditions of the British School; to the Students of the School, who have cordially worked together with me in the common interest of the School; and among them, especially to Mr. Carr-Bosanquet, whose experience and energy, always most unselfishly and ungrudgingly bestowed, have done much to make a heavy task light.

CECIL SMITH.

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On the motion of PROFESSOR BALDWIN BROWN, seconded by the REV. B. H. ALFORD, Mr. F. C. Penrose and Dr. J. E. Sandys were re-elected, and Mr. Theodore Bent and Mr. D. G. Hogarth were elected members of the Managing Committee ; Mr. Walter Leaf was re-elected Treasurer, and Mr. George Macmillan, Secretary of the School for the ensuing session.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors (Lord Lingen and Sir Frederick Pollock) was carried unanimously on the motion of Mr. Theodore Bent, seconded by Mr. H. G. Dakyns.

MR. F. C. PENROSE, in moving a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that in spite of his modest disclaimer, Mr. Morley had shown in his admirable address a deep sympathy in and knowledge of their pursuits and aims. In seconding the vote, Mr. Walter Leaf said that the Chairman had in his own career brilliantly exemplified that union of literature and life which he had referred to in his address, first the man of letters, and then the man of action.

The vote was carried by acclamation, and Mr. Morley having briefly responded, the proceedings came to an end.

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 7TH JULY, 1895, TO 4TH JULY, 1896.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Annual Subscriptions as per list . . .	860 10 0	Director's salary	500 0 0
Arrears paid in 1895-6	5 5 0	House maintenance	151 6 5
Interest on Investment	48 18 9	Architectural Student, Mr. Clark .	150 0 0
Balance to Capital account	<u>261 2 2</u>	Studentships: Mr. Mackenzie .	50 0 0
		Mr. Paterson	25 0 0
		Excavations at Melos	168 6 0
		Printing and postage, including cost of Annual, £86 3s. . . .	117 18 0
		Sundries	13 5 6
	<u>£1,175 15 11</u>		<u>£1,175 15 11</u>

BYZANTINE FUND.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance from last account	<u>159 16 1</u>	Mr. Schultz, time, &c. . . .	12 11 8
		Gilliéron, drawings	28 0 0
		Insurance of drawings	0 15 0
		Balance down	118 9 5
	<u>£159 16 1</u>		<u>£159 16 1</u>

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance from last account	1,214 1 10	Library	160 6 11
Donations, as per list	1,733 17 6	Written off cost of India 3% Stock	68 16 0
		Balance of Expenditure	261 2 2
		General Balance down	2,457 14 3
	<u>£2,947 19 4</u>		<u>£2,947 19 4</u>

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

BALANCE ACCOUNT.

	<i>£ s. d.</i>		<i>£ s. d.</i>
General Balance	2,457 14 3	India 3% Stock, at par	2,000 0 0
Byzantine Fund	118 9 5	Balance at Bank	576 3 8
	<u>£2,576 3 8</u>		<u>£2,576 3 8</u>

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 Thompson, H. Y., Esq., 26A, Bryanston Square, W.C.
 Thursfield, J. R., Esq., Fryth, Great Berkhamsted.
 Tozer, The Rev. H. F., 18, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
 Tuckett, F. F., Esq., Frenchay, Bristol.
 Tupper, Sir Charles, Bart., G.C.M.G., &c., 97, Cromwell Road, S.W.
 Vardy, The Rev. A. R., King Edward's School, Birmingham.
 Vaughan, H., Esq., 28, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
 Vaughan, E. L., Esq., Eton College.
 Verrall, A. W., Esq., Litt.D., Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
 Vickers, The Rev. W. V., Knowle Grange, Sidmouth.
 Waldstein, Prof. Charles, Litt.D., King's College, Cambridge.
 Wandsworth, The Right Hon. Lord, 10, Great Stanhope Street, W.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

[1896-7.]

Wantage, The Lady, 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
Warren, T. H., Esq., President of Magdalen
College, Oxford.
Warr, Prof. G. C., King's College, Strand, W.C.
Warre, The Rev. E., D.D., Eton College, Windsor.
Watson, Mrs., 2, Clifton Gardens, W.
Wayte, The Rev. W., 6, Onslow Square, S.W.
Wedgwood, G., Esq., Idle Rocks, Stone, Staff.
Welldon, Rev. J. E. C., Harrow.
Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Wernher, Julius, Esq., 38A, Porchester Terrace,
W.
Westlake, Mrs., 3, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
Whateley, A. P., Esq., 4, Southwick Crescent, W.

Wickham, The Very Rev. E. C., The Deanery,
Lincoln.
Wilson, R. D., Esq., 38, Upper Brook Street, W.
Wimborne, The Right Hon. Lord, 22, Arlington
Street, S.W.
Winkworth, Mrs., Holly Lodge, Campden Hill,
W.
Wood, The Rev. Dr., The School, Tonbridge.
Yates, Rev. S. A. Thompson, 43, Phillimore
Gardens, W.
Yorke, V. W., Esq., 2, Chesham Street, S.W.
Yule, Miss A., Chateau Mallet, St. Etienne au
Mont, Pas de Calais, France.

LIST OF STUDENTS.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1895.

F. C. PENROSE, F.R.S., 1886—7.

ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.

LIST OF STUDENTS.

1886—95.

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Ernest A. Gardner, | Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Admitted 1886—87. Director of the School, 1887—1895. |
| David G. Hogarth, | Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Craven University Fellow. Now on the Staff of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88. |
| Rupert Clarke, | Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted 1886—87. |
| F. H. H. Guillemand, | Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88. |
| Montague R. James, | Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from University. |
| R. Elsey Smith, | Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects. Architect to excavations at Paphos, 1887—88. |
| Robert Weir Schultz, | Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90, 1890—91. Worked on Greek mouldings and on Byzantine architecture. Also made the architectural report on the excavations at Megalopolis. |
| Sidney H. Barnsley, | Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91. Worked on Greek mouldings and Byzantine architecture. |
| J. A. R. Munro, | Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90. |
| H. Arnold Tubbs, | Pembroke College, Oxford; Craven University Fellow. Now Professor of Classics in the University of Auckland. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90. |

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

[1895-6.]

- James G. Frazer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.
- William Loring, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Examiner in the Education Office. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, given by the Managing Committee, 1889-90. Re-admitted, as Craven University Student, 1890-91; 1891-92, and 1892-93. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis, and worked at topography.
- W. J. Woodhouse, Queen's College, Oxford. Appointed to Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Oxford Craven Fellow 1891-92 and 1892-93. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis, and worked at topography.
- G. C. Richards, Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, and Craven University Fellow. Now Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted 1889-90. Re-admitted 1890-91. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis.
- O. H. Parry, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889-90.
- J. R. Stainer, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889-90.
- R. A. H. Bickford Smith, Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90.
- A. G. Bather, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master at Winchester. Admitted 1889-90. Re-admitted 1891-92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship given by the Managing Committee, 1892-93 as Prendergast Student, and again, 1893-94, as Cambridge Student. Undertook sorting and arranging of bronze fragments in the Acropolis Museum, and also assisted in excavations at Megalopolis and Kyparissia, and superintended those at Abae.
- E. E. Sikes, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, given by the Managing Committee out of the Newton Testimonial Fund, 1890-91.
- J. G. Milne, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Now an Examiner in the Education Office. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, given by the Managing Committee of the Newton Testimonial Fund, 1890-91. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis.
- H. Stuart Jones, Balliol College, and afterwards Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Craven University Fellow. Admitted 1890-91, and again in 1892-93. Worked chiefly on Greek vases in the Museums at Athens.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers, Admitted 1890-91. Worked at Greek Vases. Translated and edited (1895) the English edition of Furtwängler's "Meisterwerke der Griech. Plastik."
- F. B. Baker, Christ's College, Cambridge. Now Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891-92, with grant from the Craven Fund at Cambridge. Studied the coins in the Museum at Athens.
- C. C. Inge, Magdalen College, Oxford. Appointed 1891-92 to the Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee.

LIST OF STUDENTS.

- E. F. Benson, Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Wort's Fund at Cambridge, 1892—93 as Cambridge School Student, 1893—94 as Craven Student, and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis and Aegosthena, worked at the plan of the Asclepieion and at other subjects in Athens, and after visiting Alexandria in 1894 with a view to excavations, took part in excavations there in 1895 under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth.
- J. G. Smith, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96. Assisted in collection of topographical passages.
- V. W. Yorke, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93, re-admitted 1893—94. Worked at the Niké bastion in Athens, and assisted in excavations at Kyparissia, and later at Abae.
- J. L. Myres, Fellow of Magdalen College, now Lecturer of Christchurch, Oxford. Admitted 1892—93; re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95 as Craven University Fellow. Worked chiefly at prehistoric questions in Athens and afterwards travelled in Greek islands and Asia Minor and Cyprus. In 1895, after further work in Cyprus, he returned to Athens and excavated tumuli near Kará, subsequently going to Crete with Mr. A. J. Evans.
- R. J. G. Mayor, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Examiner in the Education Office. Admitted 1892—93. Worked at Museums and sites in Athens, and assisted in excavations at Aegosthena.
- R. Carr Bosanquet, Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1894—95 and 1895—96. Worked at Museums in Athens, and assisted in excavations at Aegosthena. In 1895 made a careful study of lecythi in Athens, and worked at the subject of Greek athletics. Travelled in Greece and joined the German tour to the Islands, Troy, etc. In 1896 continued his work on lecythi, assisted in collecting topographical passages, and took part in excavations in Athens and Melos.
- J. M. Cheetham, Christchurch, Oxford. Admitted as Oxford Student 1892—93, but after a month's residence was obliged for private reasons to resign the studentship and return to England.
- E. R. Bevan, New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94. Worked in Museums at Athens. Re-admitted 1894—95, and took part in the excavations at Alexandria.
- A. F. Findlay, Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95. Worked at N.T. criticism and antiquities, and the modern language: attended the University: made special study of the question of St. Paul and the Areopagus.
- T. Duncan, Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95. Worked at the modern language and at Egyptian antiquities. Afterwards joined Prof. Flinders Petrie in Egypt, and thence proceeded to Palestine.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS. [1895-6.

J. E. Brooks,	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894-95. Worked generally at language and antiquities, and travelled in Greece.
H. Awdry,	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894-95. Availed himself of a grace term to make a general study of antiquities with a view to school work; also made special studies of military topography, and travelled in Greece.
Duncan Mackenzie,	Of the University of Edinburgh, where he formerly held a Travelling Studentship; Graduate of the University of Vienna. Admitted 1895-96. Assisted in the Excavations in Athens and in Melos, and also worked at the collection of topographical passages, and in the Museums.
Rev. Archibald Paterson,	Of the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895-96. Went out late in the Session to work at Christian antiquities.
Charles R. R. Clark,	Appointed (1895-96) to an Architectural Studentship, in order to take part in all excavations conducted by the School. Prepared plans and drawings of the excavations both in Athens and Melos.
C. C. Edgar,	Scholar of Oriel College, Oxford, and Craven University Fellow. Admitted 1895-96. Went out late in the Session. Worked at Greek sculpture, in the rearrangement of the library, and at the collection of topographical passages.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

APPOINTED 1895-96.

Professor J. B. Bury, Trinity College, Dublin.

Rev. A. H. Cruickshank, The College, Winchester.

Arthur J. Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed and maintained of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

- (1) Donors of £10 and upwards.
- (2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.
- (3) Corporate bodies subscribing £50 at one time or £5 annually.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in July of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and three members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

- (1) The Trustees of the School.
- (2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
- (3) Nine Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, three shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
- (4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Article VI.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

[1895-6.]

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary or Treasurer may, with the approval of two members of the Committee, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of Votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

STUDENTS AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXI. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. No person shall be enrolled as a student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands.

XXII. The Managing Committee may elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands; and may also elect as honorary members such persons as they may from time to time think desirable.

XXIII. Students, Associates, and honorary members, shall have a right to use the library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXIV. So far as the accommodation of the house permits, Students shall be admitted to reside at the school-building, paying at a fixed rate for board and lodging. Priority of claim to such accommodation to be determined by the Managing Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXV. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVI. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house; but Students of the School shall have a right to the use of the library at all reasonable times.

XXVII. It shall be his duty to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XX., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June.

XXVIII. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXIX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the library and attend his lectures.

XXX. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of October in each year to the end of the following May, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXI. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

PUBLICATION.

XXXIII. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XXXIV. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XXXV. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XXXVI. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XXXVII. The second claim shall be the salary of the Director, as arranged between him and the Managing Committee.

XXXVIII. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

REGULATIONS FOR THE LIBRARY.

XXXIX. The first Director shall, on commencing residence at Athens, draw up regulations as to the management of the library, its use by Students, and the like, and submit them to the Managing Committee, on whose approval they shall become binding on Director and Students. These regulations may afterwards be modified by the Managing Committee.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1896-1897.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., LL.D.	} Trustees.
PROFESSOR JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D., M.P.	
PANDELLI RALLI, Esq.	
D. B. MONRO, Esq., Provost of Oriel.	Appointed by the University of Oxford.
PROFESSOR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.	Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
SIDNEY COLVIN, Esq.	Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
THEODORE BENT, Esq.	
MISS JANE E. HARRISON.	
D. G. HOGARTH, Esq.	
WILLIAM LORING, Esq.	
J. LINTON MYRES, Esq.	
PROFESSOR H. F. PELHAM.	
F. C. PENROSE, Esq., F.R.S.	
J. E. SANDYS, Esq., Litt.D.	
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.	
WALTER LEAF, Esq., Litt.D., Hon. Treasurer, 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.	
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Esq., Hon. Secretary, 29, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.	
MESSRS. GLYN, MILLS & CO., Lombard Street.	Bankers.
CECIL HAROURT SMITH, LL.D., Assistant-Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum.	Director, 1896-1897.

PAPERS

READ AT MEETINGS OF THE SCHOOL, OR
OTHERWISE ILLUSTRATING ITS WORK

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1895-6.

THE past year has not been productive of any momentous discovery, excepting only the bronze statue at Delphi, which will be described more fully in its own place ; but a great amount of useful work has been done in various directions, and, indeed, the great variety of what has been achieved may be regarded as the characteristic feature of the year.

In Athens, the excavations in the neighbourhood of the Pnyx and the Areopagus have reached their third season. In the later months of 1894 the entire shrine which Dörpfeld identifies as that of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις* was laid bare, with its temple, altar, and wine-press. The archaic structure seems to have been in existence down to late Greek times, when its site was covered by a building which is identified by an inscription as the assembly house of the Iobacchi. From the different methods of construction which can be traced in the walls, it would seem that this building must have stood for a long period ; the base of the altar, belonging to the earlier stage, is fairly well preserved ; it consisted of a table supported on four slender columns, replaced later by four larger supports ; at one side on the step are sinkings for two stelæ ; Dörpfeld points out that according to Demosthenes (*Neæra*, 76) the oath which the Gerairai had to swear at the sacred marriage of the Basilinna in the Anthesteria was inscribed on a stelè set up *ἐν τῷ λερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βῶμον ἐν Λίμναις*, an expression which suits the proposed identification. The inscription of the Iobacchi (published by Wide in *Ath. Mitth.* xix, p. 266) mentions, l. 123, a conjunction of Dionysos and Korè, which points to the shrine of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις* ; and Dörpfeld remarks that the name Iobacchi itself corresponds with the name of the festival (Iobakcheia) mentioned in the oath of the Gerairai on the stelè ; the natural inference is that this local cult was a survival of the archaic national one.

Whether the building which has been found is the actual shrine of Dionysos in the marshes or not, it is certain that we have here the remains of a comparatively large and very ancient sacred precinct ; its early date is fixed, not only by the character of the masonry, but also by the fact that a large quantity of fragments of pottery with geometric decoration have been found in connection with it. It

enclosed, not only the temple, but also the altar already mentioned (probably of the same date), and a wine-press of the fourth century, B.C., which covered the remains of one of much earlier date; this last recalls the passage in the Schol. to Ar. *Ach.* 201, which explains the name Lenaion διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ληγὸν τεθῆναι.

In *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, p. 183 foll., Dörpfeld examines the passages in ancient literature, which show that before the building of the Lycurgus theatre Dionysiac representations had been held elsewhere; and concludes that all these passages point to one locality, and that the Lenaion. There is, however, a distinction to be drawn between the term Lenaion and that of Dionysion ἐν Λίμναις; the old precinct is never called, by those writers who had seen it, τὸ Λίμναιον, but either τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσιον or τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δ. ἐν Δ., or something similar. On the other hand, in contemporary notices of those agones which refer to the older country Dionysia, the place named is Λίμναιον, never τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν Δ.; ὁ ἐπὶ Δ. ἀγών is the usual name of the older skenic agon. Dörpfeld thinks (*ibid.* p. 205) that we must distinguish between the two terms. The Lenaion is the place of ληγοί (wine-presses), and the general wine-press place lay in the neighbourhood of the precinct, on or beside which the choruses from the earliest times danced and sang at the festival of the god. The later writers (who no longer knew the old precinct), explained the Lenaion wrongly as the hieron of Lenaios, and identified it with the temenos ἐν Λίμναις.

The passage in Thucyd. ii., 15, which has been much discussed in this connection, is now explained as showing that the earliest town lay on the upper Acropolis, and on its south and west slope. In the old interpretation of the passage the Lenaion, as well as the other shrines mentioned by Thucydides, were placed in the precinct of Dionysos at the theatre, in the south-east of the Acropolis; but it is now generally accepted that the theatre precinct belonged to Dionysos Eleuthereus, and this interpretation falls to the ground.

The general scheme of excavations in this neighbourhood included the further exploration of the great water-system in which it is proposed to identify the Enneakrounos. As in former seasons, the existence of the modern roadway has again proved an obstacle, and it cannot yet be said that any decisive evidence has yet been obtained. The rock conduits have been further cleaned, and some of its deviations

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE.

followed; and several great reservoirs have been found in the rock connected with each other, and forming a system of waterworks, probably of the Pre-Peisistratid age, by which the water of the three hills was collected above the old fountain; when Peisistratos made his great rock watercourse, these cave reservoirs became superfluous, and dropped out of use. The most important evidence for the identification of the site is in the fact that the end of the aqueduct is now traceable, with the Greek and Roman water-basin, and also in the discovery of the commencement of two outlet channels, in the spot behind which the well-chamber is preserved which was used in ancient Greek, and even down to Roman times.

Near the supposed Enneakrounos and lying in the upper strata, were found upwards of forty marble statuettes of Aphrodite, which presumably had fallen from the west slope of the Acropolis; it is here that we must probably suppose to have existed the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos, which Pausanias mentions on his way from the Dionysiac theatre to the Acropolis. It was hitherto believed to have lain at the south-west corner, near the Nike Temple, in consequence of some inscriptions found there some years back, built into a mediæval fortification. The Pelargikon, however, must have occupied most of the space on the south-west; and if we may assign the Aphrodite shrine a site before the Enneakrounos—probably the centre of the earliest market—we can better appreciate the statement of Apollodorus (*Harpocr.*, s.v. Πάνδημος), that this shrine lay περὶ τὴν ἀρχαῖαν ἀγοράν.* It was hoped that one or more of the different temples which must have existed in this neighbourhood might be discovered; thus Pausanias mentions a temple of Demeter and Kore, and one of Triptolemos, as over the Enneakrounos. Unfortunately, excavation on the Pnyx only proved that the depth of earth there is so slight as to have preserved little or nothing; a series of rock cuttings and cisterns were the sole results. It was also hoped that an old Greek building east of the Dionysion ἐν Λίμναις, might prove to be the Prytaneion (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1894, p. 508); this has now been cleared, and only negative evidence has resulted, though the purpose of the building cannot be explained. The operations on the west slope of the Areopagus have been continued, disclosing more houses with stairways cut in the rock, but nothing of

* Dörpfeld in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, p. 511.

special interest, unless we may except the house of a terra-cotta statuette maker, in which a large number of moulds belonging to his trade were found.

Perhaps the most important result of the German excavations of the year has been the discovery of what is claimed to be the Stoa Basileios. For various reasons it has been supposed that this building lay to the east and south-east of the so-called Theseion, or under the houses on the west side of the modern 'Οδός Ποσειδῶνος. In the spring of 1896, two of these houses were bought by the German Institute, and destroyed. Beneath their foundations portions of two public buildings came to light, each consisting of a hall with portico facing eastward. The northernmost building cannot be later than the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and this it is proposed to identify as the Stoa Basiliké. The other building is of later date, but is built on the remains of an earlier structure, which seems to have been a simple portico. It is very desirable that the question should be solved; unfortunately, the purchase and destruction of houses in a populous quarter of Athens is a costly affair; but it is pleasant to know that a third house is already doomed for the coming season.

In the *Ath. Mitth.*, 1895, p. 507, Dörpfeld gave reasons for supposing that the deme of Alopekè (between which deme and the town lay the gymnasium of Kynosarges) lay, not where Curtius and others have placed it, but across the Ilissos, in the south of the town towards Phaleron, approximately where the church marked on the map as H. Marina stands. Two personal friends having placed in my hands a sum of money for purposes of excavation, I was enabled, in the spring of 1896, to open ground in the spot which seemed the most likely site for this gymnasium. The excavation is still proceeding, but an *ad interim* statement of results is published in my report to the Managing Committee.* It is sufficient here to say that we have found the foundation walls of a large public building which appears to date from the sixth century B.C., and which seems to be, in plan, suitable to a gymnasium. It lay in the midst of a necropolis of tombs, which date from the seventh century B.C. downwards, and, subsequently to the third century B.C., it was used partly as the site of a Roman bath, partly as a graveyard. Adjoining it are the remains of a larger building which seems to have been a gymnasium of the time, perhaps, of Hadrian.

* See above, pp. 23-25.

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With a view to the Olympic festival of 1896, the Stadion has been restored, for the most part in marble, at the cost of M. Averof, a Greek gentleman of Alexandria. The work preparatory to this undertaking resulted in some small discoveries, the most important of which is that the long sides, hitherto supposed to be straight, have a slight bend outwards in the centre; the practical utility of this, as enabling each spectator to obtain a wider view of the course, was clearly shown during the games on such days as the stadium was crowded with spectators. In the course of the excavations, sufficient details were found to admit of the accurate restoration of every architectural feature of the ancient structure; and two of the double herms found here have been set up *in situ*.

Turning now from actual excavation, we find that a good deal of important work has been done in connection with the antiquities already existing in Athens, chiefly in connection with the Acropolis. The lengthy task of publishing the vase fragments is not yet completed, and the fragments are not yet exhibited; but, *en revanche*, the most interesting pieces of work have been effected with the architectural remains. One of these is the study which H. Schrader has completed of the composition of the archaic marble pediment sculptures representing a Gigantomachia; the other is the discovery of T. Wiegand, that sufficient architectural remains are preserved, not only to confirm the existence of an earlier shrine in the place of the Peisistratid 'Athena temple, but even to give us an approximate idea of its dimensions and ornament. His article has not yet been published, but he has most kindly given me the following summary of its results:—"The temple, of limestone, was a double temple *in antis*, 100 feet long and 40 feet wide, with six metopes in front and eighteen metopes at each long side. Its pediments were decorated with the two well-known poros groups of Zeus fighting with the triple-bodied Typhon, and Herakles wrestling with Antaeus. Several of the architrave beams of this temple were discovered in the Kimonian south wall of the Acropolis, built in above the theatre of Dionysos. The height of these beams is 1·50 m., that of the triglyphs 1·40 m. A special peculiarity of the horizontal geisa lies in the fact that their mutules are of different size, varying between six and four guttæ in front. The metopes and sima consisted of marble, and were gaily painted; the ornamentation and colouring of

the springing pediment-geisa is particularly interesting; these are decorated on the underside partly with gigantic lotos flowers, partly with eagles and great water birds, which are so arranged as if they wished to fly out into the free air. In its general forms, as, for instance, the wide-bulging echinus of the capital, the temple recalls the temples of Magna Græcia, and thus its attribution to the time of Solon may be suggested as perhaps the most probable date.

Besides the remains of this pre-Peisistratid Athena temple, there is further evidence to determine the existence of no less than five smaller pre-Persian buildings in poros stone, of which some are specially interesting on account of their polychrome decorations, and one on account of its plan. Thus one, for instance, had an apse similar to the Bouleuterion at Olympia.

Of all these buildings I have, in co-operation with my colleague, architect Herr Wilberg, put together and built up fragments, so that when this work is completed the Acropolis will possess a small museum of architecture of the pre-Persian buildings, which I hope the Ephor-general will also make accessible to the general public."

One of the few remaining problems connected with the Parthenon was happily solved last winter by the energy of Mr. E. Andrews, a student of the American school. It has long been known that the marks on the east architrave of the temple are the traces of nails which served to attach the letters of an inscription; but as to the date and purport of the inscription itself nothing had hitherto been known. Mr. Andrews, at considerable personal risk, succeeded in getting paper squeezes of these marks, and after some study arrived at a complete decipherment of the inscription, which runs thus:—

'Η ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χλίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναῖων αὐτοκράτορα μέγιστον Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Θεοῦ Υἱὸν στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄπλίτας τὸ ὅγδοον τοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ νομοθετοῦ Τι. Κλαύδιου Νοβίου τοῦ Φιλίουν ἐπὶ λεπεῖας . . . τῆς . . . θυγατρός.

The reference to the eighth term of the generalship of Novius fixes the date at A.D. 61, and the whole inscription probably commemorates the erection of a statue of Nero, perhaps in front of the Parthenon. In this connection it should be recorded that the committee appointed to examine the condition of the structure finished their report in the

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spring of 1896, and the work of repair was commenced during the summer; it is hoped that the present work may place the Parthenon as far as possible beyond danger from catastrophes similar to that of 1895.

A small excavation begun at Peiræus under the direction of Mr. I. Dragatsis has resulted in the identification of the Serangeion mentioned by Isaeus, Alciphron, and the lexicons. A cave on the east side of the Munychia hill was cleared out, and proved to be an extensive structure decorated with mosaics, and serving for a bath; this corresponds well with the description in the ancient writers of the place as *tόπος τοῦ Πειραιῶς* in which was a bath *ἐν φοι κακουργοὶ ἐκρύπτοντο*. It is possible that further researches in this district would be productive of good results; a small excavation made last year at Cape Kolias by Th. Wiegand brought to light the interesting remains of a Greek villa, and furnished a welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of this feature of ancient Greek life.

The excavations at Eleusis in 1895, continued under the direction of Mr. Skias, resulted in no special addition to our knowledge of the topography, but were productive of some interesting paintings on terracotta; among others may be noted a large pinax with two rows of figures, and an amphora, both of the fourth century B.C.; each of these has a scene appropriate to the locality and an inscription recording its dedication, proving that here, as at Naukratis, Epidaurus, and elsewhere, a local fabric of vase-painting was devoted to the supply of offerings specially intended for the cult of the place. Some interesting tombs of the Geometric period were also found, characterised by their unusual size and the wealth of their contents; one such tomb, in which a woman was interred in a seated position, contained no less than sixty-eight vases, besides ornaments in gold, silver, bronze, iron and amber, as well as a series of objects in Egyptian porcelain.

In the spring of 1896 the American School commenced operations on the site of old Corinth. The difficulties of this task may be appreciated from the fact that, in some parts, at least, as the excavation proved, not less than four metres of soil cover the remains of the Roman city, and most of the site is occupied by the modern village, of which the proprietors have to be bought out. Under these circumstances, Professor

Richardson is to be congratulated on the good beginning which has been made. The description of Pausanias is so full that the identification of a single public building must prove a valuable clue; and this clue is afforded by the discovery of the theatre, of which the lines of ascending steps, deeply worn by footsteps, have been found in three distinct places. The upper part of the cavea must have been near the site of a temple, as in this portion a large number of terra-cotta statuettes have been discovered; some of these appear to represent a type of Aphrodite; but at present, it seems impossible to decide which of the shrines, mentioned by Pausanias as existing near the theatre, it is likely to prove. East of the existing temple, the excavation was carried down to a great depth; at the lowest level the remains of a building were found which the excavators explain as a Greek stoa or passage, which may possibly throw light on the position of the Agora. It will thus be seen that the undertaking has already reached an interesting stage, but the completion of the work must necessarily be a very slow and laborious task.

At Mycenæ the Greek Archæological Society has continued its excavations under the direction of M. Tsundas, both within and without the Acropolis. The principal result from the interior excavation is the fragment of a very archaic metope in poros, in good preservation, with a female head. Outside the Acropolis were found a large series of rock tombs, with rich remains of various kinds. Most important of all is the discovery of a large cupola tomb, resembling the so-called Treasury of Atreus, which appears to be quite undisturbed; if so, we may expect a great deal of fresh information as to the method of burial in this class of tombs, as all such graves hitherto found (with the exception of the one at Menidi) proved to have been plundered in antiquity or otherwise destroyed. A notable addition to our knowledge of Mycenæan art has been made in the publication by M. Tsundas (*'Eph. 'Aρχ. 1896, pl. 1—2*) of a painted stelè, found in the excavations of 1893—5, but only recently cleaned. This stelè served to close the mouth of a small shell-formed tomb, which led from a larger tomb chamber. Judging from the objects enclosed within the smaller tomb, it must belong to the later Mycenæan period; the stelè, however, had originally been sculptured with a decoration in relief of the primitive Mycenæan epoch. This decoration was at a later period covered with a

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coat of stucco, on which was painted a design, which has its nearest parallel in the "Warrior vase" of Mycenæ (Löschcke and Furtwängler, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 68, pl. xlii—xlivi); it affords timely evidence for the early dating of that vase which has recently (Pottier, in *Rev. Arch.* 1896, p. 23 and others) been questioned.

The Mycenæan question has received a further accession of material from a comparatively new quarter; the excavations conducted in Cyprus by Messrs. Williamson and Christian on behalf of the British Museum reached their third season in the spring of 1896, under the direction of Mr. A. S. Murray. In March a Mycenæan necropolis was found at Encomi, near the ancient Salamis, with a series of undisturbed tombs, which yielded a number of vases and objects in gold, ivory, and porcelain. Among the ivories is an object which seems to be the support of a mirror, carved with two subjects in relief, representing the combat of a man with a Gryphon of the Mycenæan type, and a lion attacking a bull, the style of which recalls the ivories discovered by Layard at Nineveh. A curious cup in white and blue porcelain, supported by a female head, recalls in form the rhyton of the sixth century, and reminds us once more that most of the known forms of classical Greek pottery have their prototype in the Mycenæan civilisation. Similarly, in a series of gold pins from the same site, we have what may be the prototype of the fibula. These pins are either pierced transversely about midway or have a ring bound with wire at the corresponding place, which must have served for a fastening to keep the pin in position. One of the gold finger-rings has a dedication in Egyptian hieroglyphics to the goddess Mut, and is consequently assigned by Egyptologists to about 700 B.C. But even assuming this date to be correct, it would be rash to argue, on these grounds, for a later date for the Mycenæan civilisation of the Greek mainland. We know, for instance, how little the Geometric period of the mainland is represented in Cyprus; and it may well be that the Mycenæan tradition lingered in this island long after it had practically disappeared from the rest of Greece. If a final solution is ever to be obtained of the Mycenæan question, the most promising field seems to be in Crete; that, at least, has been once more shown by the interesting and suggestive researches of Mr. Arthur Evans, set forth in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and in his work on *Cretan Pictographs*. His most recent

journeys in the island (see below, p. 169) show that exploration here, when once political affairs admit of it, should have important results.

The southern islands of the Aegæan have been receiving a large share of attention; besides Crete and Cyprus, Melos and Thera have been the subject of organized undertakings. The campaign of the British School at Melos is more fully described in the following paper. It is sufficient here to state that the topography of the classical town has been carefully studied, with some interesting results; that a fine mosaic has been discovered; and that the remains of Phylakopi, on the north-east side of the island, have been partly investigated. In this last site are the remains of a Mycenæan settlement, represented by a complex of heavy fortifications, a large necropolis, and a large quantity of Mycenæan pottery. Below the Mycenæan stratum are the remains of a more primitive race corresponding with those of the lower strata at Hissarlik, and characterized by rude pottery and implements in obsidian. These researches, it is hoped, will be continued in the coming spring.

At Thera, Dr. Hiller von Gärtringen has had a highly successful season; his excavations were mainly directed to the site named Mesa-Bouno, which was formerly thought to represent the ancient Oia, but is now known to cover the site of the town of Thera. Of the ancient town so large a portion has been cleared that it may now be said to be visible almost in its entirety; and of several important public buildings the plans have been recovered and identified; among these are the Stoa Basilikè, beside the Agora; a Palæstra of simple form, intended for the use of the garrison of Ptolemy Euergetes; the garrison building itself; the archaic temple of Apollo Karneios, of which the cella is partly constructed in the rock, with two adjoining chambers in the rock; shrines of Apollo Pythios, of the Egyptian deities, and of Demeter and Kore. Besides these important topographical results, the excavation has been rich in actual remains; in the Stoa was found a series of six marble heads of good workmanship, including a good replica of the Doryphoros; and a large collection of tombs, mostly of the archaic period, has yielded an important series of vases and terra cottas. In the epigraphical material which he is collecting for the forthcoming volume of the island inscriptions, Dr. Hiller von Gärtringen has been no less successful. The number of Theræan inscriptions now known

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amounts to as many as 650, of which a large proportion are archaic, and affords us a clear perspective of the interesting Theræan alphabet in its successive stages.

The interesting additions thus afforded at Thera to our hitherto scanty knowledge of Hellenistic antiquity is likely to be supplemented on the one hand by the excavations at Philæ, conducted on behalf of the Egyptian Government by Captain Lyons (see *Phil. Woch.*, 1896, pp. 1151—2); and on the other at Priene, where Drs. Wiegand and Schrader have been excavating on behalf of the German Institute. Since the work on the Temple conducted by Mr. Pullan on behalf of the Dilettanti Society, Priene has been very little noticed by archæologists. Now the site of another fine Ionic temple has been found, probably to be identified as that of *Zeus Aï̄thropos*, the remains of the Agora, with numerous votive bases, porticoes, &c.; the theatre; and a large number of interesting private houses.

At Ephesus, again, an English undertaking has been further continued, in this case by the Austrians; but their results, though said to be highly productive, have not yet been published; the same may be said of Samos, where Dr. Boehlau opened a large series of tombs, the contents of which are, I understand, likely to throw considerable light on the problems connected with the history of Greek vase painting in the sixth century.

The systematic exploration of Phrygia which has been proceeding for two years under the direction of Herr Körte, is now terminated. One of the most recent discoveries resulted from the opening up of a hill near Bos-eyuk,* which proved to be an early Phrygian entombment; it contained, beside objects in stone, bone, and metal, numerous remains of pottery which both in form and technique bear the closest resemblance to those of Hissarlik. Herr Körte claims to have found similar tumuli in the most different parts of Phrygia, and one such is said to exist near Salonica; if so, it would appear that the primitive civilisation, represented in the lower strata at Hissarlik and in the Greek islands, must have had a far wider range than was hitherto thought to be the case.

The excavations at Delphi have as usual been productive of a large store of bronzes and inscriptions of more or less interest, among which

* *Phil. Woch.*, 1896, p. 382.

may be noted especially a bronze cow of archaic style 40 cm. in length, of admirable workmanship, found near the great altar of the Chians; an interesting inscription relating to a bankrupt and the administration of his affairs; another concerning the régime prescribed for runners: they were not allowed new wine, and if any transgressed the rule he was compelled to pour libations of that wine to the god, and to pay a fine, half of which went to the god and half to the informer. The event of the year is of course the discovery of the life-size bronze statue. It represents a young man attired as charioteer in a long chiton, holding in his hand the reins of the horses, of which some fragments are also preserved. Beside this was also found part of a youthful female figure, also in bronze, which M. Homolle thinks may have been a figure of Nikè. The figure is executed in a style which can only have preceded the best period of Greek sculpture by a short period, and corresponds perhaps most nearly to the sculptures of the pediments of Ægina. The discoverer, M. Homolle, was at first inclined to associate the chariot group, to which this figure obviously belonged, with an inscribed base, and to identify it, by analogy with one at Olympia (Paus. vi. 12, 1), with a portrait group of Hieron; until the statue has been published, however, speculation on this subject would be useless and out of place. The chief work of the past season has been the clearing of the Stadion, which is admirably preserved, and contains among other things the seats set apart for the representatives of the different Greek States.

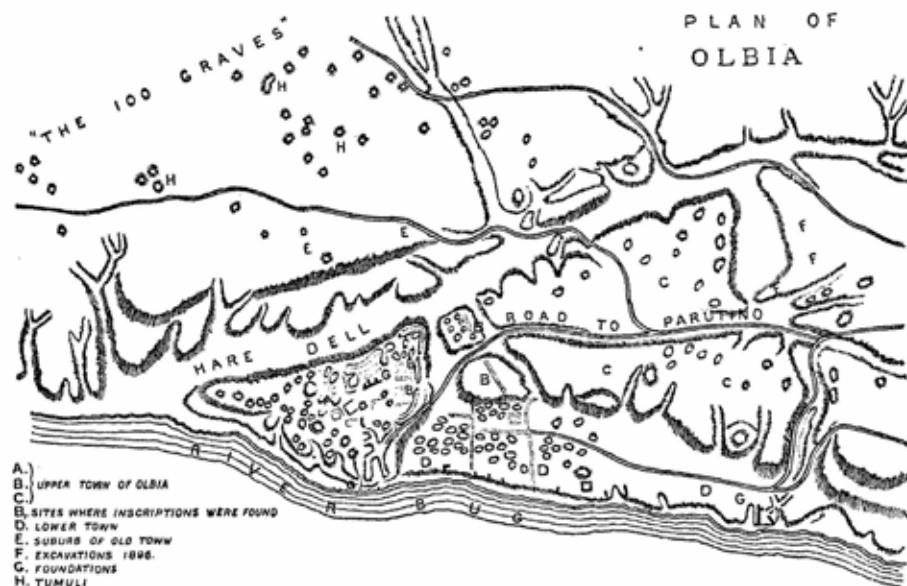
At Olbia, on the Black Sea, the Russian Government has during the past summer undertaken some excavations. By the kindness of Dr. Pharmakovsky, to whose direction they were intrusted, I am enabled to give here a short account of them, pending their ultimate publication in a Russian journal.

In June and July of this year I was charged by the Imperial Russian Archaeological Commission to carry out excavations on the island of Berezan and the site of Olbia, with the following results:—

The island of Berezan lies in Liman, at the point where the Dnieper and Bug emerge into the Black Sea, not far from Otschakoff. Here Prendel and Widhalm had already (in 1886) identified remains of Greek civilisation; and their excavations left no doubt that the island could not be Λεύκη, as some authorities had previously believed. We may now follow Latyscheff (*Gesch. der Stadt Olbia*) in his view that the modern Berezan represents the *Bopoulos* of the ancients. My excavations on

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Berezan were only provisional, with the object of deciding to what period these remains are to be assigned, and on what point it would be desirable to excavate on a larger scale. I found that the entire north side of the island is occupied with the remains of a large ancient necropolis. The tombs which I discovered date, according to their contents (pottery and bronzes), from the Roman period, but the cemetery was already in existence at a much earlier time. The shores of Berezan are very steep and are perpetually falling away into the sea, leaving the ancient tombs showing. Here I found numerous fragments of vases of various fabrics. It is important to note that in Berezan we have fragments of old Rhodian, Corinthian, and the so-called Fikellura ware, the most frequent being Corinthian.



OLBIA (from *Trans. of Odessa Arch. Soc.* viii. 3, 1872, Pl. ix.).

I also found some very interesting fragments in the Naukratis style, which are identified in character with those in the British Museum.

In Otschakoff I examined some private collections of antiquities; in one of these, belonging to the priest Lewitzky, there are various antiquities from Berezan, consisting of beautiful Fikellura vases and very fine Corinthian fragments, as well as fragments of Naukratis ware and the usual Attic styles, with black and red figures (of these last, however, the provenance is not certain). It is clear that the Berezan necropolis covers a large period of time. The Archaeological Commission intends shortly to explore this island more fully. [For a plan of Berezan, see *Arbeiten der VI. Archäol. Versamml. zu Odessa, 1886.*]

At Olbia I found a necropolis dating from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D. The town of Olbia lies on the shore of Bugliman, of which a sketch plan is here given. A, B, C are the upper town, D the lower; a part of the lower town lies submerged, as the shore is falling away. E are outlying parts of Olbia, where great quantities of potsherds of later fabrics are lying, as in Athens at the Areopagus, or on the Pnyx. On the plan I have indicated the results so far obtained from excavation on this site; these were carried out in 1873 by Zalielin and Baron von Tiesenhausen: the tombs were found by Graf von Uvaroff, von Suratschan, and von Tastrebow.

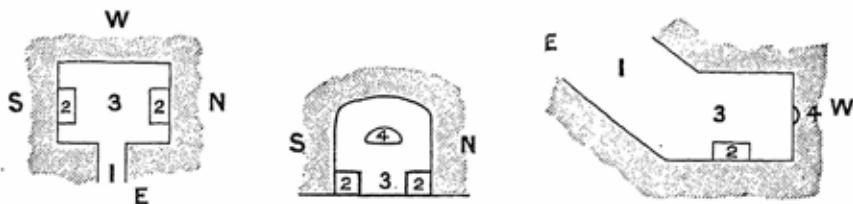
The topography of Olbia is, as yet, very little ascertained.* My excavations have contributed one result to our knowledge of it, viz., that the town did not extend to F, for I dug at this point and found no trace of foundations. Here lay the necropolis of Olbia, which extended further to the west, to the point G, where the village of Parutino now lies. It is not older than the fourth century B.C. At the point F I found forty-eight tombs, all pit graves, but of varying depth and form. The deepest extend 22 feet (English) below the surface, and are all chamber tombs, sometimes of remarkable size. The dead were either laid simply on the floor, or on the specially constructed benches; the head was usually (though not always) to the east. These chamber tombs always contained several corpses; only in one case was I able to prove incineration; here, the ashes were deposited in an urn of this form  laid on a bench, around it stood various vases (also on the bench).  But in the same tomb was another corpse, which was not burned, but inhumed. The bodies were very frequently borne into the tomb on biers, and so laid in the ground or benches; these biers were of wood and leather, of this form  and had four leaden handles (a, a, a, a) of very elegant form. The wood  and the handles were gilt, and very often decorated. On the ground  were placed several vases and various other utensils. Of their general appearance I have given a detailed account in my Report to the Archäologische Commission, with plans and sections. All without exception were very rich, and were, therefore, already plundered in antiquity. I found only a few remains of gold and silver objects, which the plunderers had lost in the process, or had overlooked; but the fine vases were left behind. These vases are of various forms; beautiful large amphoræ (in form approaching the Apulian), with decoration in gilding and colour, wonderfully beautiful pelikæ, with rich gilt ornament and brilliant glaze [for the technique of these cf. Berlin Cat., 2854-6], one of which had paintings in red figures, fine kylikes (plain black, but of brilliant technique), one of which is inscribed Διονύσου, and a jug with the inscription Υγείας; a similar vase in Berlin has the inscription Αθηνᾶς [cf. Berlin Cat., 1764, 1769, 1771, 1775, 1776, 1801 (all of which have Φιλίας); and 2872 (Υγείας). [Cf. Jahn, Munich Cat. Einl., p. cxi.] There are further fine lamps, alabastra, &c.

* See the works of Graf von Uvaroff, *Recherches Archéologiques dans la Russie Meridionale*, with atlas; and esp. Latyscheff's *Gesch. der Stadt Olbia*, which gives all the literature of the subject. The best plan of Olbia is that by Köppen, published in the *Denkschr. von Kaiserl. Gesellschaft der Gesch. und Alterthümer zu Odessa*.

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From their style and technique the vases found by me should belong to the fourth—second centuries B.C. There are also vases of late Greek and Roman times, similar to those vases from Olbia, described by Loeschcke in *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 17.

The chamber graves of Olbia, however, belong to a different period: the coins found with the vases will, perhaps, give fuller data, which will also be of importance to the chronology of vases as well. The sketch subjoined represents two sections and a plan of a chamber grave in Olbia.



1, Entrance; 2, Benches; 3, Grave; 4, A Niche (where the lamp was usually placed).
Entrance usually 30°—25°.

The chamber tombs are all earth. Besides the chamber tombs numerous tombs giving this section E or W



dug out of the I also found going to 15 feet

W or E



with this section, usually of than 7 feet).

The objects found in the two last classes of tombs are vases, gold work, silver work, beads, astragali, bronzes (amongst others, a late Egyptian bronze statuette, used as an amulet), coins, &c. ; they usually have a wooden flooring, and have invariably been plundered.

In F to G lies also the later necropolis of Olbia (not earlier than the fourth century B.C.). The earlier necropolis must lie in H, from which site the earliest Olbian tomb-inscription comes (Latyscheff, *Inserr.*, No. 4), and where the Kurgan lies, which was explored by Count Uvaroff [for the contents, see the Atlas to the *Recherches*].

The tombs explored by me are only a small proportion of the very extensive necropolis; the excavations here will be prosecuted by the Archaeological Commission in the coming year.

All the objects which I found are now in the Arch. Commission in Petersburg, from which place they will go to the Hermitage; the duplicates and unimportant things pass into the Russian provincial museums.

The sites A, B C, E, and H unfortunately cannot as yet be explored, as they belong to a lady who permits no excavation. They must, however, conceal many treasures from science, for they include numerous large Kurganen (similar to Kul-Oba, &c., at Kerch), which are, as yet, wholly undisturbed. The excavations,

moreover, in the town itself were not satisfactory; here, too, there is much still to be found. How important the finds there will be, is shown amongst other things by the inscribed base found in Olbia of a statue by Praxiteles: Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν (Latyscheff, *Inscr.* vol. i. No. 145).

London, October 12th, 1896.

B. PHARMAKOVSKY.

In the world of Byzantine antiquities, the most important progress has been the completion of the French mission to Mistra, which occupied the summer of 1894 and 1895. According to the report of M. Millet (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1895, p. 268), the entire site has been thoroughly studied, and a plan drawn up; the eight churches have been examined and the details prepared for publication; the principal paintings have been copied by M. Eustache, and the architectural details drawn by M. Braïłowski, on behalf of the Academy of St. Petersburg. M. Millet was further enabled to make some excavations which have thrown interesting light on the Byzantine methods of sepulture; and finally, a museum has been formed consisting of fragments of architecture and inscriptions.

Among the losses which the archæological world has suffered during the past year, the great names of Ernst Curtius and Johannes Overbeck stand prominent. The one name is associated more pre-eminently with practical work, whereof his bust at Olympia is witness; the other, with the theoretical side of archæology, as represented by his monumental work on Greek sculpture. With these are two others; Humann, the discoverer and initiator, whose fame Pergamon has made European; and Dümmler, one of the most brilliant of the younger school, whose researches into early Greek antiquity combined in a remarkable degree the qualities of daring and laborious thoroughness.

C. S.

EXCAVATIONS IN MELOS.

EXCAVATIONS IN MELOS.

OUR operations in this island, which lasted in all from March 20th until the end of May, were mainly tentative in character; it contains evidently a large number of ancient sites, but unfortunately, in most of them, a great deal of unsystematic and unrecorded digging has been for a long time carried on. It seemed, therefore, desirable to ascertain, first, whether it would be necessary to continue for more than one season; and, secondly, what sites would best repay investigation. Our



FIG. I.—THE ISLAND OF MELOS, WITH PART OF KIMOLOS.

first researches were directed to the shore of the little bay of Klima, which lies at the foot of the hill on which the theatre and many other traces of the old town are still distinguishable. The fact that part of this ground (the property of the Government) was said to have yielded the celebrated statue of Poseidon, now in the National Museum, as well as other statues (one of which is still lying *in situ*), and was otherwise said to be unexcavated, seemed to warrant our choice; the more so as

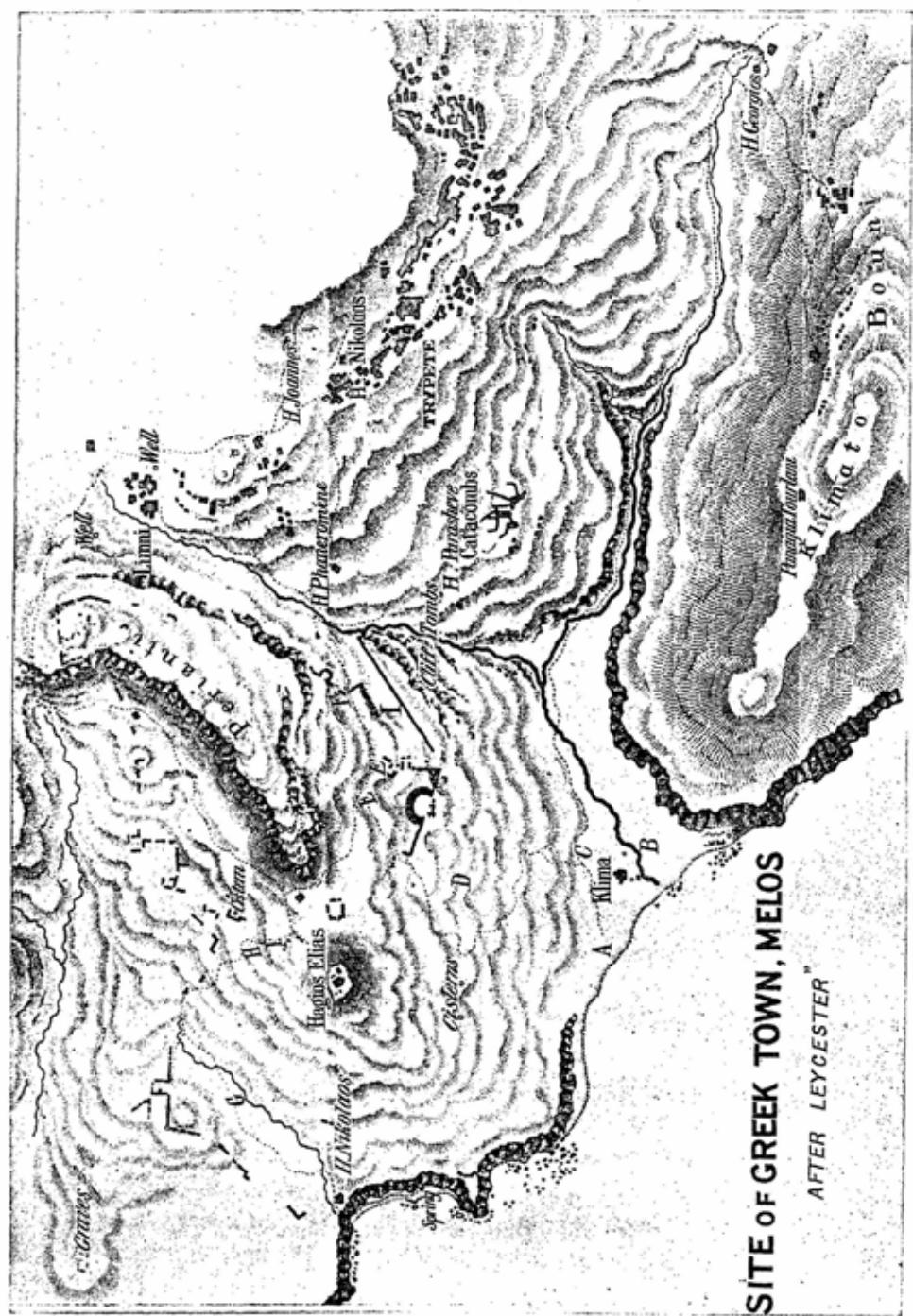


FIG. 2.

EXCAVATIONS IN MELOS.

the Government had made this excavation a condition of their permission. Here, then, on March 20th, we began (site A, Fig. 2); at the same time I received permission to break ground at another promising site (site B) in the opposite side of the delta, where the gardener, in sinking a well-shaft, had come upon traces of a marble pavement with two bases resting upon it.

On both these sites our hopes were doomed to disappointment; in site A we soon came upon a series of walls of two periods, one below the other, at a depth of from half a metre to a metre below the level of the soil; but these were evidently of quite late, careless construction; and though we continued for some days trying to follow them in various directions, not a trace was forthcoming of anything which could be considered as even Roman, much less Hellenic, in character, except a few fragments of very late pavement in green marble and a large marble statue base, which may have belonged to the series of statues already referred to, and had probably, like them, found its way here accidentally. The marks in the upper surface showed that it had supported a life-size (probably male) figure; the moulding in the upper and lower part, which occupied only three sides, showed that it must have stood against a wall. Unfortunately the surface had suffered so much damage, that it was impossible to determine what inscription (if any) it had borne. The surface of the ground is here very little above the sea-level; and wherever we dug we invariably found brackish water at a depth of about one and a-half metres. At two points we came upon traces of a pavement of coarse large slabs of schistous stone, which was laid slightly above the present water-level. Immediately below these slabs was a thick layer of some bituminous composition smelling strongly of tar, and below this again a quantity of fragments of stone and marble. Evidently these fragments had been thrown in to make some kind of a foundation in the wet loose soil, and an attempt had been made to render the pavement itself damp-proof. This fact is important, as will presently be seen, inasmuch as it shows that the water-level on this site was approximately the same in antiquity as it is to-day. At one point I had a deeper hole made and got a pump to work; but the only result was to show that nothing but sand and marine formation has ever existed here.

At site B there is a much greater depth of soil, as the ground

rises considerably in this direction. Here, at first, things looked more promising, as we soon ascertained that the two square bases with mouldings rested, evidently undisturbed, on the marble pavement to which they had belonged; but when four similar bases had been discovered in the same line, and it was seen that not one of them was even reasonably square, while the distances between every two varied, there was no difficulty in deciding that the building must have been an exceedingly late colonnade or stoa. After its destruction, the fragments of it were used in the construction of some walls which resembled those of site A, and which ran alongside the column bases. In one of these walls were built the greater part of a Corinthian column and a piece of marble entablature which had evidently formed part of the stoa. On excavating below the marble pavement we found, first a layer of what seemed to be river deposit, then sand, and then (at about the same level as in site A) brackish water. The space which should have been occupied by the (displaced) fifth base was occupied by a wall of irregular blocks of stone, faced with stucco, resting upon the stylobate, but running obliquely across it from north-west to south-east. Between it and the fourth base was found part of an inscribed Melian gravestone of the sixth century, which seems to have been built into the wall. At a subsequent period, when both this wall and the stoa had been destroyed, the ground seems to have been filled in with rubbish up to the level of the tops of the column bases, and on this was erected an exceedingly late construction of which we found two walls running parallel with and enclosing the line of the columns; these were formed of irregular blocks of stone and fragments of the colonnade, loosely bound together with mud.

In order to make sure that no part of the delta had contained buildings of interest, we tried yet a third site (C). This was a large open field to the north of site B, and extending to the point where the steep incline towards the old town commences; this ground had not been excavated within the memory of any one in the island. We started with two trenches, one from the north-west corner, the other from the middle of the west side, both leading towards the centre. In the second of these the soil proved to be sandy in character, and filled with rounded boulders such as would indicate the existence of a disused river-bed. It seems probable that at an early date the river which follows the

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ravine between Melos and Klimatobouni must have issued here; and as no objects of any kind were discovered in this trench, it was abandoned. In the other trench we found, at a depth of about one and a half metres, part of a wall of good construction in regular courses running east and west. Eventually this proved to be part of the wall of a house, with a doorway and a well, apparently of the better class of Byzantine construction. In this last excavation were some few fragments of pottery belonging to the late classical period, but not sufficient to warrant the supposition that the site had been actually occupied in classical times. With this exception there was nothing in the entire delta, as far as we could ascertain, which could be assigned to any period previous to late Roman or Byzantine. On the other hand, everything pointed to the fact that the whole area had been in classical times covered by the sea.

The reasonable conclusion seems to be that in the hollow now occupied by Klima we have what was in classical times the true harbour of Melos. It is obvious to any one who looks at the plan that such a harbour, receiving the detritus from the two hills and what the river between them brought down, would speedily silt up if left to itself.

Now it happens that there are in the sea at this point considerable traces of massive masonry, principally at the two extremities of the base of the delta. The masonry at the west end extends farthest into the sea, running in an oblique south-east direction, forming a protection to the harbour against the prevailing set of the currents from the west. These traces have given rise to the story, freely circulated by the fishermen, that the sea has here encroached on the land, and that a part of the town of Melos is here submerged. If this were true, it would be a remarkable contradiction to the geologists, who assert that at the Pliocene period the sea-level was at least two hundred metres above the present level. In reality the facts, at this point at least, show that the sea-level has changed very little within the last two thousand years, and, if anything, has even receded. With two absolutely calm days, a boat, and a sponge-fisher's telescope (*i.e.* a bucket with a glass bottom), I was enabled to make a close examination of these *κτίρια* in the sea. They consist throughout of massive foundations of unfaced concrete mixed with rough boulders, which are

carried up to what is approximately the *present* sea-level. Above the sea-level the construction consists of heavy squared blocks of red or brown trachyte, with an inner core of rubble. Inside the western mole, already described, is a large rectangular building in the sea, which seems to have communicated with the shore by means of a pier; and a similar construction seems to have existed at the east end. These constructions may have served primarily as docks or quays, but would equally have formed a strong basis of defence against attack from the sea. At the west point the cliff comes sheer down into the sea; but in order to secure communication with the small bay to the west, a very narrow passage was anciently tunnelled in the rock, sufficient to admit a single person without stooping. A large piece of this rock with the tunnel through it has fallen, and lies on its side in the sea. If these observations are correct, we must consider the classical harbour of Melos as possessing little or no foreshore. The hill on which the town stood must have descended practically sheer into the sea at all points on this side; so that even if an enemy had succeeded in forcing the harbour defences, he would be confronted by an almost perpendicular path which a handful of resolute men could hold against all comers. This may account for the almost total absence of traces of the town wall of defence on this side (see the plan), and also for the fact that in spite of the superiority of the naval force of the Athenians, their attack was delivered from the land side.

The character of the masonry corresponds with that of the retaining walls of the theatre of Melos, and also with that of the temple existing between the two hills; none of these buildings can be of much earlier date than the Ptolemaic period. It may be that by the third or second century B.C. the original harbour within the delta had so far shallowed as to become impracticable; and that the moles were erected in order to replace it with an artificial harbour more to seaward. These moles further contributed to the silting-up of Klima, so that by late Roman times the ground here, though swampy, was firm enough to build upon. If it is a fact that the Poseidon and other statues were found here, various explanations may easily be suggested; they may have rolled down from the steep slope above, or may have been brought here to form part of the harbour decorations.

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So far then our excavations, though not productive of actual antiquities, may claim to have had a result which is of considerable topographical interest. After writing the above, I was glad to see that our deductions had been to a certain extent foretold by Ehrenburg, who, in 1889, made an exhaustive geological survey of the island. Discussing the question of the encroachment of the sea at Klima (*Die Inselgruppe von Milos*, p. 46), he remarks that such an encroachment remains merely a probability, "because we do not know whether the *κτίρια* (i.e. the masonry now visible in the sea) do not belong to an ancient harbour site, and therefore may have been always in the sea."

From Klima our excavations proceeded gradually up the hill towards the theatre. On the lower slope, our hopes of finding Greek remains were again baffled; the traces of buildings and antiquities which we discovered were chiefly of late Roman and Byzantine character. There, in the field of Emmanuel Vichos (site D), trenches run along the field and into the hillside revealed a regular street of Byzantine buildings, well preserved; at one point a door was found leading into a cave, in which was a cistern containing Greek fragments; beside the door of this cave was a Doric capital with an inscription recording the erection of a sundial by an archon. In more than one place the ground was excavated down to the bed rock, reaching a depth of 12 feet, but the result was invariably the same, viz. Byzantine remains with insignificant Greek litter and rifled caves. Above this field the rock had been levelled probably in ancient times, with a gutter at the edge suggesting a roadway; from this point a tunnel was run into the bank along the rock face, and revealed first, a Hellenistic shaft grave, with broken pottery, and subsequently a large cave, across which a wall of late construction had been erected, consisting chiefly of late architectural marble fragments. From this terrace a flight of steps, apparently Byzantine, led to the terrace above, and was found to be well-preserved. The only object of any interest beside the inscription above mentioned, was a small marble relief with a bull's head of late conventional style, with traces of colour.

The result of this excavation seemed to show that this portion of the slope had not been inhabited in classical times; it had probably been occupied by Greek and Roman cave tombs, of which so many still exist below Trypete, and from which that village derives its name

(Τρυπητή). It would seem, indeed, as if this portion of the island had been a centre of the Byzantine settlements, for our next excavation at the top of the hill (site E, known locally as the "Three Churches") gave the remains of an interesting early Byzantine church or churches with a curious cruciform baptistery, very well-preserved. On removing the foundations of this church we came upon a series of late Greek statues which had been broken up and used as supports for the church walls—in all, parts of eight statues were thus discovered; unfortunately none of them have as yet been provided with a head; it is possible that an adjoining field, of which the owner has not as yet come to terms with us, may later give us some of the missing portions. Close by this field are the remains of a section of the town walls (site F), in splendid polygonal masonry of, perhaps, the fifth century B.C. or earlier; a small excavation enabled us to determine the site of the city gate at this point, and reveals a system of construction which should be of great interest, not only as regards the topography of the ancient town, but also the history of Hellenic fortification. Site E has been described in a paper by Mr. Mackenzie, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (shortly to appear); for site F see the paper by Mr. Bosanquet, *infra*, p. 77.

About half-way between the Town Gate (site F) and the village of Trypete is a field, at one corner of which is the church of Hagia Phaneromene: close to the south-west corner is the spot in which the archaic statue of "Apollo," now in the National Museum (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1892, Pl. XVI.) was found. As the proprietor assured us that the site had not been excavated, we started a trench across this field; at a depth of two metres we found a great quantity of pottery fragments, with an occasional good Greek fragment; also part of what seems to have been an archaic Doric capital in yellowish porous stone; fragments of architecture in this material are to be seen built into terrace walls here and there, and below the theatre is a retaining wall, built with courses of it combined with courses of red trachyte; it may be that this material was characteristic of the earlier Melian architecture. At a slightly lower depth we found traces of what had apparently been tombs of the Dipylon period; these had consisted of hollows in the bed rock, covered with heavy tiles, with bones and traces of burning; but unfortunately everything proved to be broken, and the site had

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evidently been already dug; the faithless proprietor afterwards confessed that our suspicions were correct. The whole of the ground from this point to the Town Gate is rich in fragments of pottery of the Dipylon period. It is probable that, in accordance with ancient usage, the road from the town, which took this direction, was lined with tombs, and that the earliest occupied the part nearest the gate. At present, we have found no trace of any Mycenæan settlement existing in this part of the island. Probably the Dorian colonists, coming from the Peloponnesos, and bringing with them their native style of ornament, would have found the harbour an inducement in determining their selection of this part of the island; the earlier peoples, spreading downwards from island to island, naturally chose that north-east part which was nearest to Kimolos, and where, as we shall see, there are extensive traces of prehistoric and Mycenæan settlements, but very little of post-Mycenæan remains. This suggestion is further strengthened by the fact that on the adjoining portion of Kimolos there is a site marked Nychia, (see the map, Fig. 1) which is the name given to-day to the obsidian implement characteristic of prehistoric settlements in these islands. On the north-east part of the island, though there is plenty of white flint, there is no obsidian indigenous to the soil; the nearest point at which obsidian occurs is Komia; but in the neighbourhood of Klimatobouni there is an ancient quarry of the obsidian which is found throughout the region between Skinopi and Adamanta: this quarry is called 's τὰ Νύχια. The north-east point of the island is very much exposed to the weather, and the coast here is most unsuitable for shipping; it seems unlikely, except for the reasons given above, that it would naturally have commended itself to the early settlers as a site for their principal town.*

The houses of Trypete are built upon a terrace which is absolutely honeycombed with ancient tombs; the caves and ancient sinkings have been usually adapted to the requirements of modern life; but occasionally, even now, so the villagers assert, fresh tombs are discovered. One such was reported to exist in a cellar recently constructed in the house of Manousi; this we opened, but found, unfortunately, that others had been before us. It consisted of a rectangular sinking in the rock, large

* Mr. Mackenzie has obtained evidence of the existence of at least two other prehistoric sites in the island. We hope, during the coming season, to obtain the materials for a more complete archaeological survey of Melos.

enough to hold a body at full length, which still contained a large series of fragments of pottery of the Dipylon style, and a fine lentoid gem in black steatite, which we hope to publish, with other Melian gems, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. It is of late Mycenæan style, but very finely worked, and represents a bull (similar to those on the Vaphio cups), overthrown, with legs and head in the air, beside a fig (?) tree. In all probability this tomb had been rifled at an early date, as a hole broken through it led into a lower but later tomb chamber with beds round the wall, which had been also ransacked. A third tomb had previously been opened in the same cellar, and was said to have contained a large vase with elaborate decorations of chariots, &c., in the Geometric style, which is in private hands in Melos. This tomb was also a rectangular sinking in the rock, about two metres long by one metre in width and depth; the long side on the north was interrupted nearly in the centre by a nearly circular sinking about 30 centimetres in diameter, and about half a metre deep, which may have been intended to contain the objects deposited with the dead person.

On the farther slope of the promontory on which the presumed Acropolis stands is a district called Tramythia, which seems to have formed the true centre of the ancient Hellenic town. On one of the middle slopes of this district we found some highly interesting and important remains, which seem to have belonged to a building apparently of the early Graeco-Roman period, devoted to one of those religious societies which were so popular from that period of antiquity downwards. A large marble altar which we found gives us what was probably the name of the deity to whose worship the society was devoted, as it is inscribed with a dedication to Dionysos Trieterikos. A marble statue (illustrating the transition stage between the full-length portrait and the bust) gives us similarly the name of the hierophant C. Marius Trophimus; and, lastly, we found what seems to have been the hall where possibly the Mysteries were celebrated. The entire floor of this large chamber is covered with a mosaic pavement which for beauty and originality of design is certainly one of the finest specimens of this art which has come down to us. The tesserae are mostly large and fairly wide apart; but the more delicate details are laid in glass, while the black colour is varied by the insertion here and there of gleaming patches of obsidian.

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What the exact character of the hall was we have not yet been able to determine. We hope to be able to clear more of the ground around it. Unfortunately, the road down to the shore passes over one end of it, and this portion of the building and mosaic have been hopelessly destroyed. We hope to publish it fully in a forthcoming number of the *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, but meanwhile a brief description may here be useful. The pavement is 5·4 metres wide, and is partly preserved for a length of about 19 metres, but it probably continued for a length of at least 3·3 metres further. Around the whole run two wide polychrome borders; the outer is made up of a kind of Catherine wheel ornament with a centre of two intertwined links; the inner consists of kanthari between groups of acanthus leaves; inside this, again, is a narrower border of cable pattern, which also divides the mosaic into (probably) five panels; the centre panel is 6½ metres long, and consists of an elaborate series of geometric designs, chiefly variations of the twined link, but very ingeniously conceived. Next to this is a square panel enclosing a circular space, in which are a great variety of fish, and, apparently, a boatman, whose head only is preserved; beside him is the inscription **ΜΟΝΟΝ ΜΗ ΔΙΩΨΙ**. The meaning of this is not quite clear: if the *μή* is to be taken in its classical usage, it would appear to signify, "Give us anything but water," a Bacchanalian sentiment which would at least be appropriate to the surroundings. It seems, however, more likely that the artist is here following the example of those who extol the beauty of their own work: he wishes us to understand that the fish in his pictorial aquarium are so life-like that if water only were thrown on them they would swim. An admirable illustration of this sentiment (for which I am indebted to Dr. Sandys) is given in the epigram of Martial I., xxxv. *De piscibus sculptis* :—

"Artis Phidiacæ toreuma clarum,
Pisces adspicis: adde aquam, natabunt."

At each corner of this panel is a tragic mask.

The topmost panel of all is, most fortunately, at once the most important and the best preserved; it is 3·2 metres long, and, except from the roots of an olive, has received very little injury. From each corner a vine grows, spreading its leaves, with tendrils and grapes, all over the design; amongst the branches a wild goat is couched, and

various birds move about, pecking at the fruit. The whole is executed with considerable spirit and vivacity, and the effect is enhanced by the beauty of the colouring. It is curious to find so early an example of a design which became, fifteen centuries later, the favourite subject of the carpet-weavers of Persia. The beautiful carpet of Ardebil, in the South Kensington Museum, and the famous Poldi-Pezzoli carpet, at Milan, are two instances in which the same principle has been applied to the decoration of a floor. In the centre of the upper portion of this panel (which must have formed the upper portion of the hall) is a small rectangular marble shaft, still *in situ*, perhaps an altar. For the present, this mosaic has been carefully re-covered with layers of reeds and earth, in order to preserve it. It is hoped that arrangements may be made for its eventual transport to Athens.

Two other small excavations in this part of the island deserve a passing notice. The first was in a field in Tramythia, slightly below the "smaller acropolis" (site H): here was found a portion of a Roman bath, with two layers of flooring, the upper of white, the lower of red stucco; the calidarium was fairly complete, the hypocaust consisting of the usual rows of cylindrical and rectangular terra-cotta pipes set on end, with apertures above and below and in the narrow sides; on these rested a layer of thick flat tiles, over which was a layer of coarse rubble and cement: the fact that this building ran under the roadway made it impossible to clear it completely. The other excavation (site I) was in a broad terrace which runs nearly the entire length above the fine retaining wall of polygonal trachyte to the east of the theatre. The inner wall of this terrace we found to be composed of huge blocks of trachyte arranged in the form of steps, leading down from the terrace above. The risers formed by these blocks seem too large for a staircase; and it may be that they were intended for seats: in that case Mr. Bosanquet's suggestion seems a likely one, that this site represents the Stadion of Melos. The immediate neighbourhood of the site where the famous Aphrodite was found, and which Furtwängler proposed (*Meisterwerke*, p. 616) to identify with the Gymnasium, would be an additional argument in favour of this, as is also the fact that our trenches on this site produced no evidence of any building; only a Roman aqueduct and a late Roman tomb were found; the latter, which contained a gold ring with a fine cameo (Nike driving a biga), and leaves

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of a gold wreath, will be published later. Certain difficulties in connection with the crop of wheat on this terrace necessarily delayed our operations here; but we hope to resume them, if possible, during the coming season.

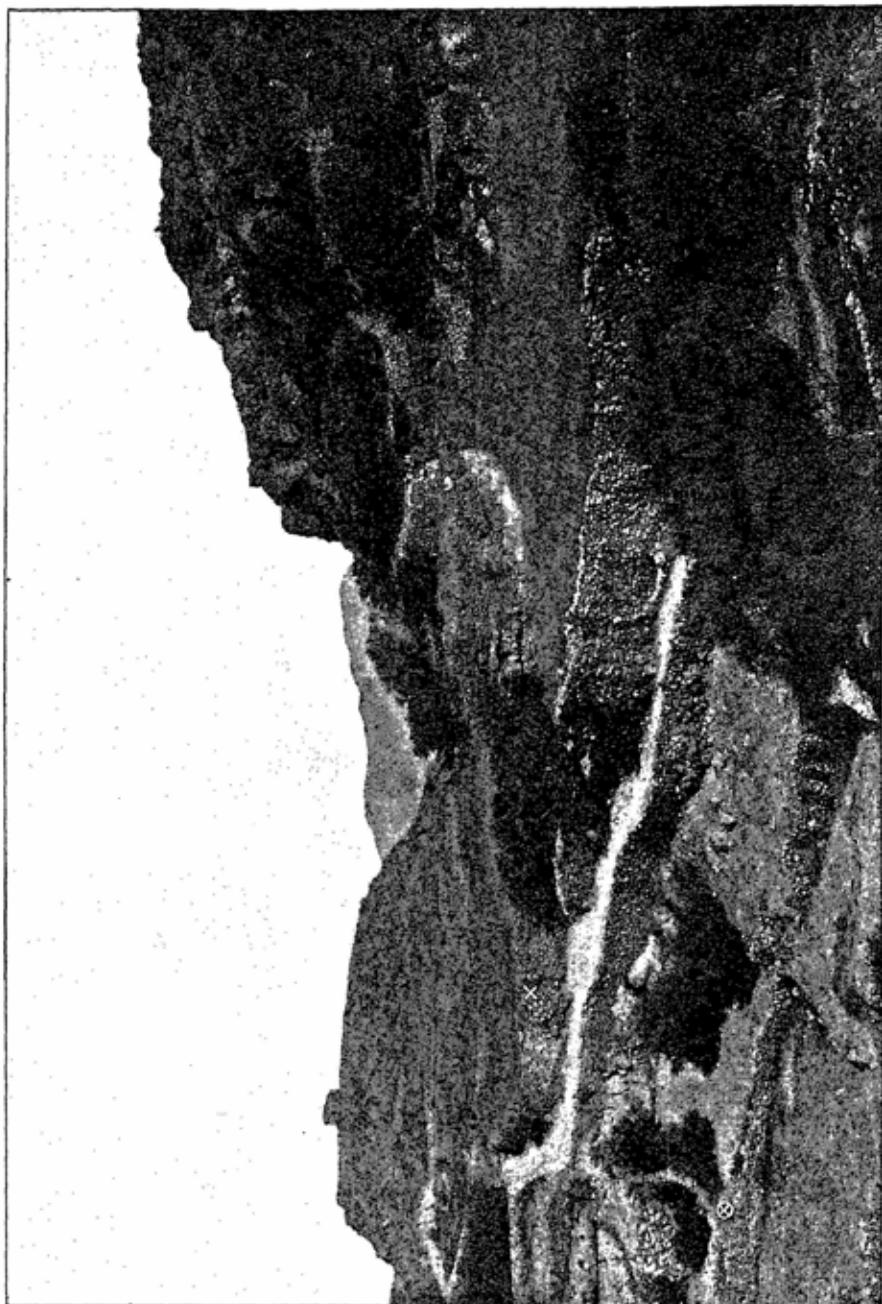
On the east side of Trypete we made one or two experimental excavations in search of tombs. In one of these we were successful in discovering a group of twelve tombs, all apparently belonging to the early part of the sixth century B.C., some of which were still unopened. These tombs consisted, like the Geometric tombs already described, of a rectangular sinking in the soft rock, with an average length of about 2·20 metres by 1·12 metre, filled in with soil. At a depth of about 1½ metre is usually a layer of calcined wood (apparently olive, as the berries were frequently discovered); this continues for about 10 metre to 15 metre down to the floor of the grave, and in this charred mass the bones and other objects are usually found. In one such tomb we found, in the upper soil, fragments of pottery and two silver rings; below, the usual layer of charcoal, but against the south-west angle, on the south (long side), a series of the fine electrum ornaments, such as, in the British and Berlin Museums, are already known as coming from Melos (cf. *Arch. Zeit.* xlii. p. 110), together with a silver fibula, a piece of Oriental porcelain, and two apparently proto-Corinthian vases in fragments. An interesting peculiarity of this tomb is the fact that some of the gold jewellery found in it seems to have been attached to the wall of the grave. It seems probable that the body lay with the head to the west; beside it, on the right, a small space in the rock had been carefully smoothed, and bronze nails driven in, on which the ear-rings and pendants were hung. A fuller description of these tombs will be given in a subsequent paper. A fact of some importance for the history of pottery is that in one tomb of this group we discovered a few fragments of a large "Melian" vase, together with a terra-cotta bull, and pieces of other ware of the sixth century. So far as I know, this is the first instance in which the actual circumstances have been known of the discovery of "Melian" vases.

During my absence in Athens, Mr. Bosanquet had made a tour of inspection of the island, in the course of which he had visited a site on the north-east coast, which Ross names 's τὸν Κάπτον, and which is mentioned by Dümmler in *Athen. Mitth.* 1886, p. 170. Here it was

reported that very ancient tombs had been discovered; hard by, Mr. Bosanquet found a gable-shaped mound overhanging the sea, with traces of Cyclopean and other very archaic walls. On May 7th we began an excavation on this mound, and although our time only permitted of twelve days' excavation, we have already found enough to show that the mound covered the remains of a prehistoric fortress or palace of the utmost importance. The walls have now been uncovered on the sea side to their lowest depth, and are in some cases preserved to a height of several metres, giving a complicated plan which in some respects recalls the plan of Tiryns; in the soil throughout vast quantities of Mycenæan pottery of all stages have been found; below these are traces of prehistoric pottery and a perfect layer of implements in obsidian and flint. It would seem, indeed, as if this site must have been a factory for obsidian implements, as there seemed to be traces of flint cores and other indications of their manufacture. As this part of the island closely adjoins Kimolos, and therefore the long chain of the Northern Cyclades, it may be that the obsidian implements found elsewhere among prehistoric remains in the islands, owe their origin to Phylakopi.

We were obliged to break off for the season on May 19th, but left the ground in such a condition that the work can easily be taken up again at such a time as we are able to resume operations in Melos.

CECIL SMITH.



British School at Athens, Annual II.

EAST GATE OF MELOS.

PLATE I.

⊗ Spot at which "Venus of Milo" was found. X Spot at which gate was discovered.

EXCAVATIONS AT MELOS—THE EAST GATE.

EXCAVATIONS AT MELOS—THE EAST GATE. BY R. C. BOSANQUET.
PLATE I.

THIS excavation was undertaken with a view to determining the position of one of the town-gates. Although there are considerable remains of the fortifications, no gate of the ancient town was visible above ground. It was evident that the discovery of the gates, and consequently of the roads, would afford the best clues to internal and external topography.

Description of the Site.—Melos, as the map shows, possesses one of the finest natural harbours in the *Ægean*. The ancient town, like the cluster of modern villages, lay on high ground east of the straits by which the nearly landlocked bay is entered. The site is a ridge which stretches three-quarters of a mile inland, and consists of (1) the Small Acropolis, a table-topped hill crowned with a chapel of St. Elias; (2) farther from the sea, the Large Acropolis, a long crescent-shaped crag with precipitous sides; and (3) the “saddle” or tract of level ground, probably the ancient Agora, which separates the two heights. The walls also included part of the Tramythia valley on the north, and perhaps also of the Klima valley, which runs down to the landing-place on the south. These main divisions can easily be recognised on the plan on p. 64, which reproduces, with a few corrections, one published by Leycester in the *Geographical Journal* for 1852.

We may assume *à priori* the existence of, at least, three gates: (1) on the side of Tramythia; here there are several likely spots which have still to be examined with the spade; (2) on the side of Klima, where the ancient harbour was situated; but there seems little chance of fixing the position of this seaward gate, since west of the theatre the wall has almost entirely disappeared; (3) on the east or landward side, where the plateau between the two heights is continued in a narrow strip of level ground at the foot of the Larger Acropolis. It was the third of these hypothetical gates that we sought and found.

The Excavation.—The cornfield, marked F on the general plan, lies just north of the point at which the present road—a broad mule-path—from Klima and the sea to the interior of the island crosses the line of the ancient wall. Some stones visible in the road suggested that the wall here formed a recess, flanked on the south by a square bastion, the termination of the straight south wall, and on the north by a strip

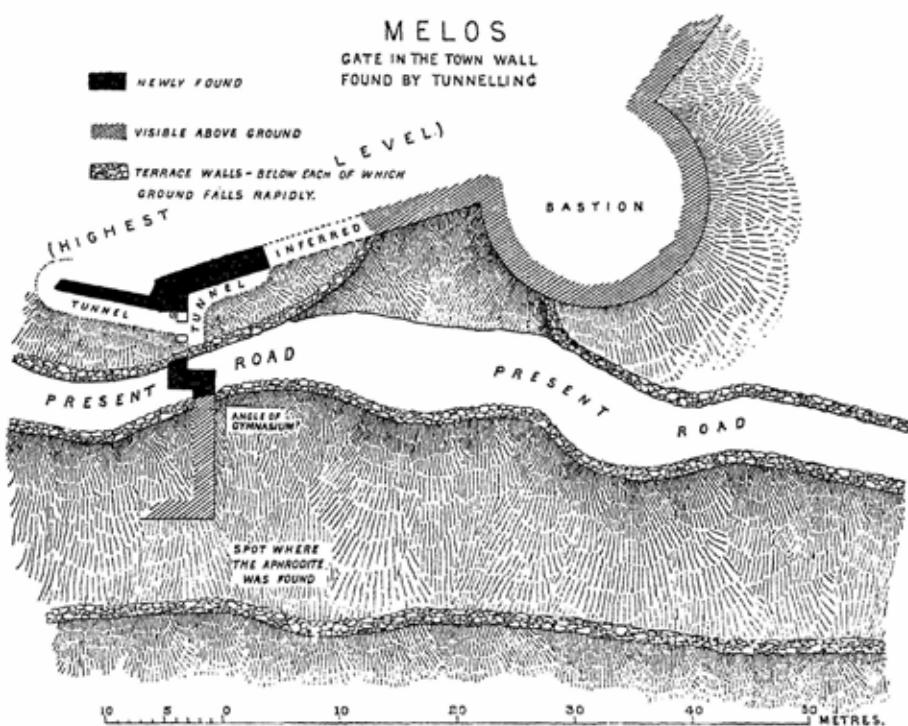
of curtain-wall and a projecting round tower. In order to examine this re-entering angle, I obtained leave from the demarch to sink a pit in the road; in this way we verified the return of the square tower. To the north we were stopped by the high retaining-wall of the field above. As a direct excavation from the top would have involved the purchase of the crop and a descent through eight feet of soil, I decided to follow the wall by tunnelling, a cheap but tedious method of excavation, in which the Melians, many of them miners by trade, are particularly skilled. We soon came on a stratum of whitish gravel, some inches thick, and rammed so tight as to resist the pick. This *μύγα*, as the men called it, appears to have been the bedding of a pavement since removed. Associated with it were sixth-century pottery and an archaic bull's head in terra-cotta. Just in the line of this roadway we found the gate; its southern jamb had been destroyed, probably at the time when the terrace-wall of the field was built, but the northern jamb and part of the threshold were found *in situ*, and within the threshold a stone drum with a square hole to receive the metal socket in which the gate-pivot turned.

We tunnelled on to the angle from which the wall turns towards the round tower, and then carried a branch tunnel through the gateway. Here we discovered a line of very large blocks, evidently the lowest course of a wall, bounding the roadway on the right. We followed this for nine metres and reached an opening which led through the wall to the north, and seemed to indicate a side-road leading to the Larger Acropolis; a part of it was paved with large slabs. Apparently the strong wall inside the gate, together with the square tower opposite, formed a narrow passage, and so prolonged the gateway into a kind of barbican.

Externally the gate is exceedingly well defended. Owing to the abrupt fall in the ground on the south side of the road, any one approaching the gate had no choice but to pass close under the round tower, which effectually commanded, first, his unshielded right side, and then his back. The modern road rests in part on an artificial substructure, and it is likely that the ancient road passed even nearer to the round tower. The present appearance of this part of the fortifications is shown in Plate I. On the right is seen part of the Larger Acropolis and below it is the round tower; on the left is the Small

EXCAVATIONS AT MELOS—THE EAST GATE.

Acropolis; between the two rises the shadowy outline of Eremomelos, one of the last homes of the *άγριμον*, or Cretan goat; in the foreground is the road from Klima and the sea (on the left), to Trypete on the right; near the middle of the picture is the point, marked by a cross, at which the tunnel started. To the left, in the angle formed by the road and the inconspicuous face of the square tower which turns at right angles to it southwards, are the remains of a building, apparently



Roman, which occupied the plot now covered with olives. It was here that the famous "Venus of Milo" was found in a niche or *exedra*; the traditional spot is indicated on the plan and is recognisable as a heap of small stones, the filling-in of a recent re-examination of the niche by inquisitive peasants, on the extreme left of the Plate I. The inscriptions found with the statue make it probable, as Furtwängler has pointed out, that the building was a gymnasium; we know now that it occupied a prominent position on the terrace adjoining the town-gate.

Date of the Fortifications.—In the part of the defences which we have been discussing, there are two very different styles of masonry. The strips of curtain-wall are good examples of what has been called “fish-scale jointing.” The joints are curved, and to some extent recall the beautiful curvilinear jointing of the Temple-terrace at Delphi, which cannot be later than the sixth century. The difference is that there are no courses at Delphi, while at Melos we have what may be a later development of the same polygonal style, with fairly regular courses. Inserted between two strips of this fish-scale polygonal are the round tower and the strip of curtain-wall to the north of it, both built in regular rectangular masonry; and similar isodomous work appears in the jamb of the gate. Now it is conceivable that regular courses might be employed as more convenient in the round tower and gate, while the polygonal jointing was still in use for curtain-walls; but this does not account for the rectangular work in the curtain-wall attached to the round tower.

If the two styles are not contemporary, the isodomous parts must be the later, and it is simplest to suppose that, at some time, the original gate was rebuilt and its flank defence strengthened by the insertion of the round tower.* When were these changes made?

There is one period at which such a strengthening of weak places in the city's harness was peculiarly necessary. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Melos and Thera alone, of the Cyclades, remained outside the Athenian confederacy. In 426, an expedition under Nikias called on the island to yield. It returned without effecting anything, but left behind it a dread which turned the Melians into open enemies of Athens. In the assessment-tables of tribute for the following year, the name of Melos figures, assessed at fifteen talents, an unfairly large sum in proportion to the size of the island. Ten years elapsed before there sailed from Athens an expedition which besieged and captured the place. We hardly doubt that the Melians made some preparations in the interval. It would be rash to pronounce a final opinion on any part of the lines until the whole has been examined,

* There is some reason to think that the round tower had a further use, and that a cross wall which separated the Large Acropolis from the plateau at its foot, abutted against the circuit wall at this point.

EXCAVATIONS AT MELOS—THE EAST GATE.

but it is not unlikely that the rectangular insertions in the polygonal work may date from the years 426-416 B.C.

The ἀγορά mentioned by Thucydides.—I have already referred to the view that the saddle between the two Acropoleis was the site of the ancient *ἀγορά*. This view occurred to Weil (*Ath. Mitth.*; 1876, p. 247) and independently to ourselves. The following reasons may be given :—

- (1) It is the largest and almost the only level tract within the walls.
- (2) Its position as a centre of traffic is proved by the traces of two paved roads, leading, one from the harbour, the other from Tramythia; while a third road leads to it from the East Gate.
- (3) It lies near to the East Gate, by which produce from the interior of the island would naturally enter the town.
- (4) In or about it are important remains, in particular, the substructure of a large temple; and a great number of statues, statue-bases and inscriptions, especially honorary decrees, such as were usually set up in the *ἀγορά*, have come to light in this part of the town.

If this view be accepted, we are in a position to explain an incident of the siege related by Thucydides (v. 115). “The Melians made a night attack and captured that part of the Athenians’ wall of circumvallation which looked towards the agora, and slew some of them, and carried in corn and such other supplies as they could, and then returned and remained quiet.” Now the gate which we have discussed was in any case the gate by which people came in from the country to the agora, and the most probable site for the agora is the level tract which lies between the two Acropoleis, and if this be so, continues some way towards the gate.

We can hardly suppose that the Melians dashed through a more westerly gate into the valley of Klima and made good their retreat up the steep hill laden with sacks of corn; the Tramythia gates, being further away, do not concern us. It is only on the east that such a sortie seems easy. Here the road leads slightly uphill outside the walls; the retreat of the laden party would be downhill. And it is just on this side that supplies of corn would naturally be collected; for the policy of Greek invaders was to begin their campaign early in the summer, drive the enemy within their walls, and reap their harvest for them, insuring short rations for the besieged and plenty for the besiegers. Harvest in Melos is later than in Athens. Barley ripens

in May, wheat in June. We can imagine how the Melians watched their own grain being brought in from the country farms, and marked where it was stored on the opposite hill. It is not surprising that the sortie was successful. The original expedition numbered only 3,000, and less than half remained to continue the blockade—a very small number to invest so large a circuit of walls.

It will be convenient to sum up the conclusions of this paper:—

(1) The ancient road from the interior of the island followed the line of the present road from Trypete to Klima.

(2) The gate by which this road entered the town lies near to a plateau which is the most probable site for the ancient agora.

(3) It was probably through this gate that the sortie described in Thuc. v. 115, was made.

(4) Certain rectangular insertions in the polygonal fortification-walls may best be explained as repairs or improvements made in the time of suspense between the first Athenian expedition of 426, and the fatal siege of 416.

THE CAMPAIGN OF ARTEMISIUM AND THERMOPYLÆ.

THE CAMPAIGN OF ARTEMISIUM AND THERMOPYLÆ. BY PROFESSOR
J. B. BURY.

Sailing in a coasting steamer from Athens to Volo, the traveller passes by the region of land and sea in which the first great scene of the second Persian War was enacted. He enters the Malian Gulf and discerns Thermopylæ in the distance; then he sails through the channel between the Achaian and north Eubœan shores, and as he turns into the Pagasæan basin seeks Aphetae somewhere on the right, while the shore of Artemisium behind him stretches away towards the open sea. If deciding to break his journey he disembarks at Stylida, and goes up the bleak road to Lamia, he can ride or drive across the Malian plain, offer his vows to the river Spercheios, and spend a day in the pass of Thermopylæ. Such a visit will indeed win him the power of realizing more vividly the general features of the scene in which Leonidas and his men faced the Persian host,—the hot springs, the road into Locris, the dark sides of the frowning mountain, the point where the path taken by Hydarnes ascends Mount Anopaia, honeycombed with holes, to which, I presume, it owes its name. These things it is fully worth while realising to the vision. But one must not expect to be able to determine any minute topographical details.* This is not due to the well-known fact that the natural features have changed within the last two thousand years, by the advance of the land upon the sea. That change can be sufficiently defined and easily allowed for. The difficulty is due to the circumstance that Herodotus had not seen the place. His general description is wonderfully true, but when it comes to the position of the wall, or of the hill (*κολωνός*) on which the Greeks made their last stand, we are clearly liable to reach false conclusions if we press the words of one who had seen neither the place itself, nor a plan of it.

For the study of the campaign, it is more important to grasp the position of Thermopylæ in relation to the waters in which the Persian and Greek squadrons were stationed, than the topography of Thermopylæ itself. When we have realised this, we are led to a view of the episode of Artemisium considerably divergent from that which

* One of the chief difficulties seemed to me to be the determination of the exact position of the western gate of the pass.

is presented by Herodotus. Here, as in other cases, Herodotus himself gives us material for criticising his history.

I. ARTEMISIUM.

§ 1. The right understanding of the actions at Artemisium depends on grasping the intimate connection between the land and the sea forces. Co-operation of army and fleet was a fundamental principle of the strategy of the Persians in their western expeditions. Darius in his conquest of Thrace is supported by a fleet which coasts along to the mouth of the Danube. A fleet co-operates with Mardonius in his reconquest of Thrace and Macedonia after the Ionic revolt. And in the expedition of Xerxes, the navy, instead of (as we might expect) sailing right across the Aegean to the country which was the object of the expedition, coasts along Thrace and Macedonia, keeping pace with the movements of the army. So important did this joint advance seem to the Persians, that they undertook the great labour of digging a canal across the peninsula of Mount Athos. A storm off that dangerous promontory had wrought great havoc in the fleet of Mardonius; it was in order to avoid the risk of the repetition of such a calamity, and yet not separate the fleet from the army, that the canal was made. In the passage through Thessaly the mountains cut off the army from the coast; accordingly we find the fleet remaining at Therma (Salonica) for about a week and a-half after the army started, so that both parts of the expedition may reach the Malian gulf at the same time.

This principle of Persian strategy necessarily determined the strategy of the Greeks. *Their* army and fleet had likewise to act in close connection; Artemisium and Thermopylæ are the two parts of the same operation. This inter-dependence is implied in the account of Herodotus, but it is never clearly expressed. It is implied in the way in which he passes from Thermopylæ to Artemisium, then back to Thermopylæ, and then once more to Artemisium. It is implied in the circumstance which he mentions that a boat was kept ready at Artemisium to carry news to Thermopylæ, and a boat at Thermopylæ to carry news to Artemisium, in case a disaster occurred at either place. It is implied finally in the statement that the disaster at Thermopylæ led at once to the retreat of the Greek fleet. But nowhere does the historian seem

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more than dimly conscious of the inter-dependence. So far as he is concerned, there is a superficial connection determined by an accident of vicinity, instead of the vicinity being determined by an essential connection in strategy. Modern critics have, of course, recognised the inter-dependence, and emphasised it duly, but they have, I believe, failed to draw the full logical consequences in criticising the Herodotean story. For, viewed in the light of this principle, the narrative of Herodotus exhibits certain incongruities with the actual situation.

§ 2. According to that narrative, while Leonidas and about 7,000 men station themselves at Thermopylæ, the fleet under Eurybiades takes up a position at Artemisium. Three Greek vessels are posted as scouts near Sciathus, and two of these are captured. The news of this incident has such a depressing effect upon the whole fleet, that they immediately abandon their position at Artemisium and *retreat to Chalcis*. Thus the entrance to the Malian bay is open to the Persian fleet, which now approaches and anchors off the coast called Sépias Akte, on the south-east of Magnesia. The fleet is so numerous that it is impossible to moor all the ships on the strand, and they are consequently anchored in eight lines parallel to the shore. In this position a great storm befalls them, and four hundred vessels, at the lowest computation, are destroyed. The news of this disaster encourages the Greeks to return to their post at Artemisium. The Persians then move round the south-east corner of Magnesia to Aphetae, over against Artemisium; and in the course of this movement, fifteen of their ships were captured by the Greeks. But the Greeks, when they saw the vast size of the hostile navy at Aphetae, notwithstanding its great losses, were so disheartened, that they *again resolved to retreat to the Euripus*. The influence of Themistocles prevents them from carrying out this resolve, and the opportunity of telling a characteristic story about that general is not lost. Then the Persians conceive the stratagem of sending two hundred ships to sail round Eubœa and through the Euripus to take the fleet in the rear. The wonderful diver, Scyllias of Scione, deserts, and informs the Greeks of this movement. *Once more the Greeks determine to retreat to the Euripus*. They will sail under cover of night, but, in the meantime, as they have an afternoon to spare, they attack the enemy in order to see how they fight. Throughout the night there is heavy rain with

thunder and lightning, and presumably we are supposed to understand that the weather prevented the Greeks from carrying out the plan on which the council of war had decided, of starting for the Euripus after midnight. On the same night, the two hundred Persian ships, which had been sent round, were caught in a storm off the south-west coast of Eubœa and all wrecked. The news of this occurrence, and the arrival of a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian ships, gave the Greeks new courage. They remained at Artemisium and had some further indecisive engagements with the enemy, until the news of Thermopylæ compelled them to abandon their position.

§3. Now it is clear that in this narrative the necessary connection between the position at Artemisium and the position at Thermopylæ is ignored. The retreat of the Greeks to the Euripus practically meant the destruction of the company of Leonidas. It was not merely that it enabled the Persian fleet to enter the Malian Gulf and support the army at the pass itself, but it enabled them to land troops on the coast of Locris behind the pass. As Grote says, "The occupation of the northern part of the Eubœan Strait was indispensable to prevent the Persian fleet from landing troops in the rear of the defenders of Thermopylæ." We must therefore hesitate to believe that the Greek commanders would have thus betrayed the whole position. There was a reasonable chance of saving Greece by the natural advantages of Thermopylæ; would Eurybiades and his fellows, without being attacked, long before the enemy came in sight, have deserted a post which was the key to the defence of Thermopylæ? The motive given—the capture of a couple of ships which had been sent to bring news of the approach of the Persians—is totally inadequate. Can we regard such an incident as adequate to produce a panic among the sailors, assumed by Grote in order to save the intelligence of the generals? But this attempt to rescue Herodotus involves us in inconsistencies with another part of the Herodotean tale. When the two fleets are actually over against each other, a retreat to the Euripus is again resolved upon. In this case it is a question altogether of the commanders, not of the men. The commanders are persuaded or bribed into remaining, and consequently the fleet remains. How are we to explain this? (1) Was there a panic on both occasions? If so, how did the commanders, who were obliged to yield to the first panic, succeed in

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calming the second panic, although, in the actual presence of the enemy, a panic ought to have been more irresistible than when the enemy were leagues away? (?) And, if there was no panic on the second occasion, the old difficulty returns of discovering how Eurybiades and his colleagues could in cold blood resolve to destroy the chances of saving Thermopylæ. Again, on a third occasion, when the news comes of the sending of the two hundred ships, the commanders adopt the extraordinary plan of leaving the whole position open to the main Persian fleet. In short, the account of Herodotus is quite indifferent to the most simple considerations of strategy.

The story then fails to sustain criticism, and we have not to go far to discover its "motivation." The key lies in the part played by Themistocles. We find the Athenian general doing at Artemisium what he did afterwards at Salamis. It is he who hinders the fleet from retreating on the second occasion to the Euripus, just as afterwards, at Salamis, he hindered it from retreating to the Isthmus.

In fact, in the tale of Artemisium, the Euripus is made to play the same rôle which the Isthmus actually played at Salamis. Like the Isthmus, it appears as the spot after which the Greek commanders are always secretly hankering, and for which they are ready to make sail whenever they can find a pretext. Themistocles in both cases is the exception. Only, unfortunately for the story, the two situations were totally different. At Salamis it was a matter of life and death only to the Athenians, Megarians and Aeginetans, that the fleet should remain where it was. At Artemisium it was a matter of life and death for the Peloponnesian confederates as well, inasmuch as a part of the Peloponnesian army was defending the pass of Thermopylæ. At Salamis it could be argued that to retire to the Isthmus was to bring the fleet into close touch with the army, whereas, at Artemisium, to retire to the Euripus was to give up that particular vicinity to the army on which the fate of the army depended.

The inference is that the story which we read in Herodotus has transferred, with an instinct which is justified by its success, the motives which governed the Greek leaders at Salamis to their previous councils at Artemisium. Neither the actual retreat, nor the two subsequent unfulfilled intentions of retreat, to the Euripus, can be accepted as historical facts. At the same time, it must be noted that the statement

of an actual retreat requires some further explanation. It cannot be dismissed as lightly as the unfulfilled intentions; for the question at once presents itself: why does not a merely intentional retreat appear in the first case also? What was the ground of differentiation? An answer to this question will be offered at a later stage of the discussion.

§ 4. But the Euripus, although it did not play that part in the counsels of the Greek generals which Herodotus assigns to it, must have in another way seriously entered into the meditations of their strategy. The danger that the Persians might send a squadron round the south of Eubœa, and, passing the Euripus, land troops in Locris to take the garrison of Thermopylæ in the rear, and at the same time cut off the retreat of the fleet, this was an obvious danger, the reality of which the Greeks did not require the actual despatch of the two hundred ships to teach them. The position at Artemisium resembled, in fact, the position at Thermopylæ, in so far as both positions were weakened by the necessity of defending a collateral, though less easy and direct, passage. The route by the Euripus demanded the same consideration from Eurybiades which the mountain path demanded from Leonidas. It may be regarded as certain that the Greeks did not intend to leave the Euripus undefended. To do so would have been a fatal weakness in their whole system of defence, and a weakness which, owing to the natural advantages of the Euripus, could be avoided at a very small sacrifice of the strength of the navy at Artemisium.

Is there any trace in our authorities—that is in Herodotus, for he is really the only authority—of measures taken for the defence of the Euripus? The answer to this question is contained, I believe, in the answer to another.

§ 5. The number of the Greek ships that took up their station at Artemisium is stated* by Herodotus at 271 (not counting penteconters); of these triremes the Athenians contribute 147.† Suddenly, on the day after the first naval engagement—the day succeeding the night of the second storm which wrecked the two hundred ships off the Hollows of Eubœa—he becomes aware that the Athenians have 53 more triremes, which then arrive. “Fifty-three Attic ships brought assistance to the Greeks.”‡ What had these fifty-three ships been doing, and why had they not appeared before? Herodotus does not

* viii. 2.

† Twenty of them manned by Chalcidians.

‡ viii. 14.

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attempt to account for them, and for that reason his statement of their appearance at a late stage of the Artemisium episode carries the more weight. It is a fact which occurs in his narrative, without any "motivation," without any organic connection with his own presentation of the tale, and it is for that reason eminently entitled to credit.

Now we have seen that the defence of the Euripus was essential to the Greek position. And here we find fifty-three ships absent from the main squadron. The two facts seem to clamour against being kept apart. The conclusion that the *fifty-three ships had been set to guard the Euripus* is irresistible.

§ 6. It would seem to follow, as a matter of course, that these Attic ships left their post at Chalcis, as a direct consequence of the destruction of the two hundred Persian ships which had been sent round to pass the Euripus. When this disaster occurred no further danger threatened the Euripus from that side, and the garrison was therefore set free for other duty. And a juxtaposition in Herodotus may be interpreted as suggesting that the Attic ships even carried the news of the fate of the Persian squadron to the Greek fleet at Artemisium. He says : "the Greeks were encouraged by the arrival of these (Attic ships), and at the same time by the news of the destruction of all those barbarians who sailed round Eubœa." *

§ 7. We have now to consider this incident of the two hundred ships related to have been wrecked off the Hollows of Eubœa. The relation presents some serious difficulties which might easily tempt one to reject the whole story.

In the early afternoon,† after the arrival at Aphetae, the Persians selected two hundred good sailors, and sent them first northward so as to circumnavigate Sciathus—a considerable round—"in order that they might not be seen by the Greeks." They then proceed to number the main body of the navy, and while they are thus engaged, the diver Scyllias deserts and informs the Greeks of the sending round of the ships. The Greeks call a council of war, and decide to wait till after midnight, and then sail "to meet the ships that were sailing round." Then, as the Persians do not attack them, they attack the Persians in the evening,‡ and the first battle is fought. A stormy night ensues ; we hear nothing more of the Greek intention to meet the ships that were sailing round ;

* viii. 14.

† viii. 6.

‡ viii. 9.

but their ships, having reached the south-west coast of Eubœa, are wrecked during the night.

Now of course it is quite impossible that ships, even the best that the Persians could muster, should, leaving Aphetae shortly after 12 a.m., and sailing round Sciathos, circumnavigate the southern promontory of Eubœa, and be wrecked off the Hollows during the following night. But leaving aside this difficulty which besets the story, and supposing that Herodotus has only made a mistake as to the time at which the detached squadron started, we cannot understand the calculations of the Greeks. Scyllias comes and tells them during the course of the day that this squadron has started, and naturally he knew and was asked—for it was a vital point—at what time it had started. Possessed of this information the Greeks determine to go to meet the new danger, which, if any sense is to be ascribed to the story, means that they were to go to protect the Euripus. But instead of doing so at once they decide to wait till midnight. In other words they compute that, by leaving Artemisium just after midnight, they will be able to reach the Euripus before the Persians. But this computation is inconsistent with the circumstance that the Persians had rounded Geræstos, and were wrecked off the south-western coast in the course of the night. It is clear from the map that if no storm had interfered, the Persians would have passed the Euripus before the Greek fleet came near it from the opposite direction.

We have already seen that the intention of the Greeks to move their fleet from Artemisium for the purpose of guarding the Euripus cannot be taken as historical. If they had not already made provision for the eventuality in question, they would have sent merely a detachment, but they would have sent it at once, and run no risk of its not arriving in time. Now we see that, even taking the story just as Herodotus tells it, it does not hang together.

§ 8. Besides these incongruities in time, there is also an apparent incongruity in place. The two hundred ships are sent

*ἔξαθεν Σκιάθου ὡς ἀν μὴ ὁφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
περιπλώουσαι Εὔβοιαν κ. τ. λ.**

The ships therefore coast along Magnesia, turning Cape Sepias, and

* viii. 7.

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passing between Sciathos and the mainland, sail round that island and then return southward. But if these ships could reach Cape Sepias unseen by the enemy, what was to hinder them from sailing on due eastward and then bearing south? What did they gain, except loss of time, by sailing northward? The movement would only be intelligible if Sciathos lay due east of the sound between Magnesia and Eubœa.

§ 9. The consideration of these inconsistencies in the narrative of Herodotus might tempt us to subscribe to a view, which has been actually advanced,* that the incident of the two hundred ships is entirely fiction. While the mere fact that such a view is held by an able historical critic confirms us in our appreciation of the difficulties which beset the incident as Herodotus represents it, at the same time this view is not consonant with a satisfactory historical method. To reject the truth of recorded occurrences, which involve difficulties but have nothing miraculous about them, is to "cut the knot," unless one explains how the story arose. The sending of ships round Eubœa was, in certain circumstances, a perfectly intelligible stratagem, and there was nothing miraculous in a misfortune happening to them off the Hollows of Eubœa. The number of the ships sent round can in no case be guessed. In numbering the forces of the Great King, Herodotus loses all sense of actuality, and even when his numbers are not impossible we cannot implicitly trust them.

§ 10. The same principle of historical method which requires us to explain the episode of the two hundred Persian ships claims also an explanation of the positive statement, that the Greek fleet retreated from Artemisium to the Euripus and returned during the storm. It is clear (as has been already remarked) that a statement of an actual retreat stands on a different footing from the statement of an intention to retreat, inasmuch as movements of ships or troops are more evident than discussions in the council room. Thus our previous criticism on the retreat to Euripus was so far imperfect, as it did not take account of the difference in credibility between the actual retreat and the two subsequent unfulfilled designs of retreat. In attempting to extract the truth about the operations at Artemisium from the unintelligible account of Herodotus, we have to seek a solution of the retreat to Euripus, as

* By Beloch.

well as of the chronological and topographical difficulties connected with the sending round of the Persian ships.

§ 11. It is time to point out in regard to these ships a new difficulty which takes us a step forward on our way to the solution. On arriving at Aphetae, the Persians, if they thought of despatching the ships, would have taken pains to learn, and would have had no difficulty in discovering whether the strait of Euripus was guarded by the Greeks. If it were guarded, it would be foolish to weaken the fleet by sending a detachment to attack a strong position. But we have already shown ground for holding that the Euripus was guarded by a number of Attic ships, which joined the main squadron at Artemisium on the day after the arrival of the Persians at Aphetae. This consideration, combined with the chronological inconsistencies already exposed, leads to the result that *ships were not sent from Aphetae to sail round Eubaea*. But this is very different from the conclusion that ships were not sent to sail round Eubcea at all.

If then the two hundred ships (it is convenient to refer to them thus, though we attach no importance to the number) were not sent from Aphetae, and if nevertheless the main fact that they were sent is true—and this we have as yet no ground for questioning—it is clear that they were sent before the Persians arrived at Aphetae. The three days before the arrival of the fleet at Aphetae were the days of the storm, and therefore days in which the ships could not have started. It follows that they were sent the night before the storm, while the fleet was anchored off the Sêpiad *Aktê*, over against the island of Sciathos.

§ 12. This conclusion is strikingly confirmed by the solution it supplies of the topographical puzzle which occurred in the Herodotean narrative. We observed the inconsistency between the implication that the two hundred ships could sail along the south coast of Magnesia without the knowledge of the Greek fleet, and the positive statement that in order not to be seen they had to make a detour round Sciathos. But if the ships were despatched when the fleet was on the eastern coast of Magnesia, opposite Sciathos, there is no such inconsistency. There was evidently less chance of observation if they sailed round between Sciathos and Peparethos, than if they sailed out south of Sciathos.

§ 13. But the same objection which was alleged against the despatch

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of the ships from Aphetae may be urged against their despatch from the Sêpiad coast. There as well as at Aphetae the Persians must have learned that the Euripus was guarded, and therefore put aside the idea of circumnavigating Eubœa. It follows that, if the ships were sent, the Athenian triremes had not yet been actually posted at the Euripus when the Persian fleet arrived at Sêpias Aktê.

And this is the right conclusion ; for it furnishes at the same time the solution of another, apparently independent but really connected, problem. The importance of the Euripus was recognised, as we saw, in the Greek system of defence ; its security, we concluded, had been provided for by the Greek generals. But two courses were open to them. They could either station ships at the Euripus from the very beginning, and thereby practically secure it against the chance of any Persian attempt to pass it ; or they might leave it without any defence until the enemy arrived in the neighbourhood of Magnesia ; in which case the Persians learning that it was undefended might, as they actually did, send a detachment round, thus weakening their main force, while the Greek ships deputed for the purpose would in the meantime have reached their post at Euripus.

§ 14. The development of our criticism of Herodotus has thus led us step by step to the conclusion that, if the sending of the two hundred ships is a historical fact, they were sent neither at the time, nor from the place, alleged by Herodotus. (1) They were sent not from Aphetae but from the Sêpiad strand. (2) They were sent not after but before the great storm. (3) At the time when they were sent, the Euripus was still unguarded ; but (4) shortly afterwards, was defended by fifty-three Attic ships.

It follows that these Attic ships were moved to the Euripus after the arrival of the Persians off the Magnesian coast, and the despatch of the two hundred ships. And here we have the explanation of our former puzzle, the retreat of the fleet to the Euripus. *The despatch of a large detachment of Attic ships to the Euripus is the kernel of fact which is contained in, and accounts for, the incredible story that the whole Greek fleet retreated to the Euripus.* And Herodotus is so far right that the movement, which he represents as the movement of the whole fleet, ensued upon news from Sciathos. Only the news of importance was not the capture of an Æginetan and a Troezenian vessel; it was the news

of the approach of the Persians, and then of their arrival and the despatch of the "two hundred ships." We can now read in a new light the words of the historian :—

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἑλλῆνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπέδευμενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ περσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετωρμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξοντες μὲν τὸν Εὔριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εύβοίης.

There is no difficulty in understanding how, in the workshop which fashioned the stories used by Herodotus for his history, the sailing of a large squadron came to be represented as the sailing of the entire armament; and this error, once admitted, led, of need, to further fiction. When the fleet was taken to Chalcis, it had, somehow or other, to be got back to Artemisium, and to be there, opposite Aphetae, when the storm was over. Accordingly, clumsily enough, *on the second day of the storm* it returns; and the motive alleged for this return is the information, derived from scouts on the Eubœan hills, that the Persians have lost a great many ships in the storm. This part of the tale is simply a consequence of the initial distortion of fact and, that being admitted, demands no further consideration.

In regard to the fate of the "two hundred" ships, it follows that they were destroyed in the great storm, which also wrought havoc in the main fleet, and that they did not require a subsequent storm for themselves. When the storm was over, the Athenian triremes at the Euripus learned the news of their destruction, and, thus set free, returned to Artemisium.

§ 15. The incident of Scyllias, the diver, has still to be taken into account. Herodotus states that after the storm he informed the Greeks that the ships had been sent round Eubœa. This is inconsistent with our conclusions; and the question arises: Is the Scyllias incident merely fabulous, and, if it took place, how has it been distorted to suit the story? The tale of the fabulous dive of Scyllias is not enough to discredit the statement that Scyllias deserted and brought information to the Greeks. Are we then to accept the statement that he announced the sending round of the ships, and therefore transpose his arrival to the day before the storm; or are we to accept the chronological datum that he deserted after the storm, while we assume that his information was of a totally different nature? Fortunately Herodotus lets out the

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secret and enables us to see the suture in his story. Scyllias, as soon as he arrived, "told the generals the history of the shipwreck, and about the ships which had been sent round Eubcea."* For the Herodotean story the second is the only important part of this information. According to that story the Greeks already knew the main facts of the shipwreck; the losses sustained by the Persians had been reported to them at the Euripus and induced them to return. Scyllias might supplement their knowledge in details—his own adventures for example, and the amount of treasure he had laid hands upon. But the Greeks cannot have been so wonderfully well informed during the storm as to the Persian losses, and, when the storm had abated, it was a matter of great consequence to them to learn the details. If Scyllias brought this information his arrival was an event. We may therefore fairly infer that Scyllias did announce $\tauὴν ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο$. His coming was remembered; and so he was the obvious person to be utilised when other news had to be carried according to the exigencies of the story. Herodotus has characteristically preserved in a subsidiary position the main historical fact, which, after the rejection of the fictitious retreat to the Euripus, is enabled to assume its proper significance.

§ 16. We have yet to consider, in this connection, a chronological inconsistency in Herodotus. The difficulty lies in synchronizing the events at Artemisium and the events at Thermopylæ. The dates have been conveniently set out by Busolt,† and may be arranged as follows, beginning from the day on which Xerxes started from Therme:—

Day 1	Persian army leaves Therme.	
" 12		Morning: Persian fleet leaves Therme.
" 13		Evening: " " reaches Magnesian coast.
" 14	" " reaches Malis.	Morning: beginning of storm.
" 15		Storm continues.
" 16		" "
" 17		Storm ceases. Fleet moved to Aphetae.
" 18	First attack on Thermopylæ.	First sea fight.
" 19	Second " "	Arrival of 53 Athenian ships. Second sea fight.
" 20	Defeat of the Greeks.	Third sea fight. News of Thermopylæ in the evening.

These are the unreconciled dates which are suggested by the narrative of Herodotus. There is a discrepancy of two days. The question

* viii 8 ad fin.

† Griechische Geschichte, ii. p. 681, n. 3 (ed. 2).

is, whether the events at Artemisium have been erroneously compressed or those at Thermopylæ unduly stretched out. Busolt decides for the former alternative, and supposes that two days (from afternoon of day 16 to afternoon of day 18) elapsed before the arrival of the Persian fleet at Aphetae and the first battle. But his reasons are not good. He says that the Persians wanted to reorganise themselves* before attacking, and that the Greeks "clearly intended to wait to be attacked." To this it may be replied that the Greeks did, as a matter of fact, take the offensive first, and that it was clearly their game to strike before the Persians had recovered from the disorganization caused by the tempest. In the chronology on the Artemisium side there seems to be nothing that is *on independent grounds* open to objection, and therefore we must look on the side of Thermopylæ. The key to the synchronism of the two series of operations is given in the statement† that Xerxes had arrived in the Malian country two days before the fleet arrived at Aphetae.

ἐσβεβληκώς ήν καὶ διὰ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας.

There is no reason for questioning this date if we are to accept any dates whatever from Herodotus. But it is to be observed that the arrival of Xerxes within the border of Malis on a particular day does not imply that he traversed Malis and encamped before Thermopylæ, in the land of Trachis, on the same day. The next chronological statement is that Xerxes allowed four days to pass from his arrival in Trachis, and attacked the Greeks on the fifth.‡ Now this delay seems—quite apart from the difficulty of bringing the result into harmony with the diary of Artemisium—extremely unlikely. When we take into account the difficulty of provisioning the immense Persian host, we must gravely doubt whether Xerxes would have deferred the attack for four days. The motive which Herodotus assigns for this delay confirms our suspicions. Xerxes sees the Lacedæmonians outside the wall engaged in gymnastics and combing their hair. Surprised at their small number and their indifference to the danger which menaced them, he has a conversation with the banished King Demaratus, who sets forth the bravery of his Spartan countrymen, and assures him they have resolved to risk

* "Und die Meldung von der Umgehung abwarten."—A consideration which we can now disregard.

† vii., 196.

‡ vii., 210.

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their lives. But Xerxes would not believe him, and felt confident that they would presently run away. For this reason, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσεσθαι, he delayed the attack for four days.

The delay, therefore, has what may be called an Herodotean motive. It is in fact part of one of those anecdotes by which Herodotus dramatically brings out the surprise of the Persian at Hellas, a surprise which enhances the ultimate Hellenic triumph.

§ 17. We are therefore entitled to discard the statement of the delay of four days as part of an anecdote. The argument may be briefly expressed thus: The diary of Artemisium is inconsistent with the diary of Thermopylæ. One must therefore be wrong. We cannot point out, on independent grounds, a flaw in the diary of Artemisium, but we can discover an extremely suspicious statement in the diary of Thermopylæ. We are therefore entitled to revise the dates of the events at Thermopylæ by the dates of the events at Artemisium.

The conclusion, therefore, is that the fighting at Thermopylæ took place (not on days 18, 19, 20, but) on days 16, 17, 18. Thus one day (15) elapsed between the arrival of Xerxes within Malian territory, and his first attack on Thermopylæ.

§ 18. The general results of this discussion may be shown in the following table:—

Day 12	Arrival of Persian fleet opposite Sciathos towards evening. "Two hundred" ships despatched to sail round Eubœa. Fifty-three Athenian vessels sent (in the night) to guard the Euripus.
" 13	Storm.
" 14	Arrival of Xerxes in Malian land. Storm continues.
" 15	Xerxes encamps before Thermopylæ. Storm continues.
" 16	Xerxes attacks Thermopylæ. Persian fleet moves to Aphetae. Scyllias deserts and tells the Greeks of the Persian losses in the storm. First sea battle (afternoon).
" 17	Renewed attack on Thermopylæ. The fifty-three Attic vessels return to Artemisium. Second naval engagement.
" 18	Thermopylæ taken. Third sea battle. News of Thermopylæ received at Artemisium (evening.)

2. THERMOPYLÆ.

§ 19. If it is hard to say from what source Herodotus derived his account of the operations at Artemisium, it is clear enough where he collected his materials for the story of Thermopylæ. His narrative is laid out for the glorification of the Lacedæmonians, and this feature,

taken along with the anecdotes which he introduces about Demaratus and Gorgo, enables us to attain a moral certainty that he gives mainly the Spartan account, which he learned at Sparta.* It is easy to see that it is an account in which actual military facts are of no moment, and all the details are calculated to enhance the courage of the Spartans, and render it almost superhuman.

§ 20. About seven thousand Greeks marched to defend the pass of Thermopylæ. The numbers given by Herodotus here are quite credible: 300 Spartans, 2,120 Arcadians, 80 Mycenæans, 400 Corinthians, 200 Phliasians; that is 3,100 Peloponnesian hoplites.† The total, however, is inconsistent with the epigram of Simonides (quoted by Herodotus),‡ which states that the pass was defended by "four thousand from the Peloponnesus,"

ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτραπε.

But another passage of Herodotus enables us to solve this difficulty by proving that the Spartans were accompanied by Helots,§ and it is permissible to assume that the number of these light-armed troops amounted to 900 or 1,000. From Northern Greece,|| 700 Thespians, 400 Thebans, 1,000 Phocians, and the whole army of the Locrians—say 1,000 to take the smallest number—joined Leonidas and brought up the total number to more than 7,000.

The Phocians, on account of their local knowledge, were set to guard the road over the mountain, so that Leonidas had at his disposal at least six thousand men for the defence of the pass. Having successfully resisted the Persian attack for two successive days, he is informed during the night of the second day, by deserters, that Hydarnes and the Immortals have been sent by the mountain road to take him in the rear. This news is confirmed about dawn by his scouts, who, perhaps, also brought the news that the Phocians had offered no resistance but had fled to the heights. Leonidas held a council of war. Some were for retreating, others for remaining; and finally the various contingents acted as they severally thought good. The Spartans, Thebans and

* For further evidence on this point, see below, § 26.

† vii., 202.

‡ vii., 228. The words of Herodotus suggest that this epigram was not written by Simonides, but the Simonidean authorship has been vindicated by Bergk and others.

§ See below, § 26.

|| vii., 202, 203.

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Thespians remained; the rest dispersed, each to his own city. Herodotus adds the story—and professes his own belief in it—that Leonidas, seeing that the confederates were lukewarm, urged them to depart and save their lives, leaving him and the Spartans to die at their posts. He supports * this story by one of those oracles (composed *post eventum*), which he is always so ready to use as authoritative evidence: either Sparta was to be destroyed, or a Spartan king, of the seed of Heracles, was to die. Partly on account of this oracle, and partly to monopolize the glory for Sparta, did Leonidas, according to the historian, dismiss the allies; this, he thinks, is more likely than that the allies should have quarrelled and departed indecorously. The Thespians would not desert the Lacedæmonians, but the Thebans were detained, against their will, as hostages. In the subsequent battle, the Thebans fought because they were compelled, until the pass was actually carried; but, while the Spartans and Thespians, who still remained, rallied on the hillock, and fell fighting, the Thebans held out their hands and begged for mercy, crying that they were medizers, “which was perfectly true,” and were fighting against their will. Their lives were spared but they had to endure the indignity of being branded.

§ 21. The unfair treatment of the Thebans in this narrative strikes every reader, and it furnished a count in the indictment made out by the writer of the treatise *De Malignitate Herodoti*. Grote himself rejects the statement that Leonidas forcibly constrained the Thebans to remain, on rational and obvious grounds. “How,” he asks, “could these Thebans serve as hostages? Against what evil were they intended to guard Leonidas, or what advantage could they confer upon him? Unwilling comrades on such an occasion would be no way desirable.” We might add another question, “Would it, in the given circumstances, have been possible for him to coerce four hundred hoplites, even if it had been desirable?” No one can hesitate to accept Grote’s conclusion that the Thebans “remained by their own offer.” But while Grote is compelled by the merest common-sense to go thus far in discrediting the story against the Thebans, he does not hesitate to accept the rest in part. He turns “with repugnance to the desertion and surrender of the Thebans,” but he dismisses the incident of the ignominious branding “as an invention of that strong anti-Theban feeling which prevailed in

* *ἰκίχρηστο γάρ*, vii., 220.

Greece after the repulse of Xerxes." But have we a right to make this distinction? If we accept the desertion, why should we reject the branding? Grote has grasped the right principle for the criticism of the tale, but has applied it arbitrarily and inconsistently. We cannot avoid regarding the whole tale as an invention of "strong anti-Theban feeling"—a tale told with spiteful pleasure at Athens and, doubtless, at Sparta too. The Thebans, of course, had a very different tale to tell. Unfortunately, the history of the Boeotian author, Aristophanes, is not preserved, but Plutarch, in his treatise on the "Kakoetheia" of Herodotus, quotes him to show the inaccuracy of the Herodotean story, even on such a point as the name of the Theban commander.

§ 22. The fact is—and historians have not sufficiently realised it—that the conduct of the northern Greeks, and especially of the Thebans, before the conquest of northern Greece by Xerxes, was interpreted in the light of their conduct after that conquest, and consequently an injustice has been done them. Neither the Thessalians—except the Aleuad house—nor the Boeotians, nor any of the other Greek peoples, wished to submit to the Mede; they would all have been glad to keep him out. The Thessalians desired that their own northern frontier should be selected as the scene for the Pan-Hellenic defence. When the troops which had been sent to Tempe gave up this idea and retired, all the northern lands as far as Thermopylæ were at once exposed to the invader; the inhabitants were not strong enough to undertake resistance with any prospect of success, and accordingly it was a mere act of self-preservation when the Thessalians, Achaians, Dolopians, Malians, and the rest, gave the tokens of submission to Xerxes. Thermopylæ was the next point, and if it were taken, northern Greece as far as the Isthmus was lost, for it was certain that the Peloponnesian confederates would at once retire to the Isthmus. The submission of Boeotia, which had no fleet to fall back on like Athens, was a matter of course once Thermopylæ were taken, but in the meantime it was the interest of Boeotia that Thermopylæ should not be taken. It must be further remembered that the northern Greeks had to found their policy on two calculations: the probability that Greece would be unable to resist the Persians, and the probability that, when it came to the point, they would themselves be deserted by the Peloponnesian confederates. The justice of the second calculation is strikingly shown by the conduct of the Pelo-

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ponnesians on the eve of Salamis. If they had had their way, they would have sacrificed their confederates, the Athenians and Aeginetans, caring only for the safety of the Peloponnesus. These calculations explain the policy of the northern Greeks in not joining the Synedrion of the Probuli at Isthmus. They had to take care not to compromise themselves with Xerxes; their conduct was equivocal, just because they did not live in the Peloponnesus. But the Thessalian message proposing that Tempe should be defended, and the presence of the Theban contingent at Thermopylæ, showed that they submitted from necessity and not from preference.

§ 23. From this digression, which was necessary to explain the position of the Thebans, we must return to consider the position of the whole Greek force. Herodotus represents the defence of the pass, once Hydarnes came round by the mountain road, as a forlorn hope. The place could no longer be defended with any hope of success, and in this case the most natural course for the defenders was to retreat. Leonidas, however, remained to die. His motive, according to Herodotus, was partly belief in an oracle, and partly patriotic ambition. "Spartans," he said, "must not desert their post," and modern historians accentuate this point. But would retreat from Thermopylæ, if it had been a rational course, have been condemned by the military code of Sparta? Eurybiades was a Spartan commander, and yet, according to Herodotus, he was quite ready to retreat from his post at Artemisium. It seems to me that historians confuse two things. If Leonidas had been a subordinate officer, posted by his commander-in-chief to defend the pass, then, indeed, under no circumstances would he have been justified in abandoning it in the eyes of the jealous Lycurgean state. But the case of the commander-in-chief himself is wholly different. If Leonidas, as a discreet general, had thought it advisable to fall back, he certainly could not have been blamed. But granting that a superfluity of valour might have determined the three hundred to die for the greater glory of Sparta, and to give the Persians the firstfruits of Hellenic prowess, there are good reasons, it seems to me, for concluding that the motives of Leonidas were different, and, if less sublime, more within the limits of ordinary human reason.

§ 24. The significant fact in the situation is that not only the Spartans, who, it is alleged, durst not leave their post, but the Thespians,

and also the Thebans, remained in the pass. Now whatever may be said of the Thespians, who like the Platæans played a noble part in the Persian war, no one will be ready to go so far in opposition to the malignity of Herodotus as to maintain that they too determined to die, because it was dishonourable to desert their post, in contrast with the Arcadians and other Peloponnesians. Allowing on one side for the glorification of Sparta, as on the other for the calumny of Thebes, we have to deal with the simple fact that the Spartans, Thespians, and Thebans remained to fight in the pass. When the glory of Thermopylæ was monopolized by the Spartans, the Thespians were rather set aside—Herodotus gives them somewhat perfunctory praise—while the presence of the Thebans was explained in a discreditable way.

But the obvious inference is that the Spartans, Thebans, and Thespians held the pass because the defence was still feasible, although demanding bravery of no common quality, and not because the Spartans refused to desert an untenable post.

§ 25. When it was known that Hydarnes was marching round, and had dissipated the Phocians, it is clear that two courses were open to Leonidas and his followers. They might either all retreat, or they might adopt a bolder course, and still, if fortune favoured them, hold the pass. The possibility of doing this would depend on employing against the company of Hydarnes the same stratagem which the Persians were employing against the Greeks. It would be necessary to attack Hydarnes on two sides, so that he should have to deal not only with the defenders of the eastern gate of the pass, but also with other troops posted on the east side of the point where he descended from Mount Kallidromos. With a disposition of this kind, the case of the Greeks was by no means hopeless.

The actual facts of the case, arrived at by criticising and allowing for the motives which play the chief part in the story of Herodotus, demand such a strategical reconstruction. The fate of the defenders in the actual pass depended on the bravery and success of the main body of the Greek army, which attacked the rear of Hydarnes. The event proved that they were not equal to their task, and those who did not fall fled each to his own city.

§ 26. The truth of this reconstruction, bold as it may seem, is confirmed by the undesigned testimony of Herodotus himself. According

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to his narration in the Seventh Book, only the Spartans and Thespians (and probably a few of the Thebans, while they still perforce fought) were slain, on the last day; and on the two former days "apparently not many"** hoplites had fallen. But in the Eighth Book we are told† that 4,000 corpses strew the place. Grote explains this discrepancy by the assumption, that "a considerable number of helots" had remained with the Spartans in the pass. It has also been suggested that the number 4,000, has been thoughtlessly taken from the epigram of Simonides, where it represents the number of Peloponnesians who fought at Thermopylæ, not those who fell.

It must be observed that this anecdote of the corpse-show, as it comes in a different place, so also obviously comes from a different source, from the narrative in the Seventh Book. If it belongs to the framework of that narrative, the number of the corpses would certainly have been put at a little over one thousand, the total sum of the Spartan and Thespian forces; this was required by the Spartan complexion of the whole story. Nothing could betray more clearly the different origin of the two passages than the contrast between the studious ignoring of the helots in the Seventh Book, and the mention of them in the Eighth. Following implicitly his Spartan source in the main narrative, Herodotus carelessly involved himself in an inconsistency between the total of the Peloponnesian troops obtained by the addition of his items, and the number stated in the epigram of Simonides which he quotes. The inconsistency, as we saw, is removed by the evidence of the non-Spartan source, which he has used in the 25th Chapter of Book VIII.; not merely a non-Spartan, but perhaps even an anti-Spartan source. A curious sentence in the account of the Persian exhibition of the dead bodies suggests that the anecdote was partly intended to combat the exclusive rights of Lacedæmon with Thespiae to the glories of Thermopylæ. We read that all those who came to see the dead

γῆπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπίες, ὄρεοντες καὶ τοὺς εἴλωτας,

"*Supposed that the dead were all Lacedæmonians and Thespians, seeing the helots also.*" This statement, if it were intended to imply that the "supposition" were true, would be in glaring opposition to

* Grote's words, c. xl. *ad fin.*

† c. 25.

the immediately following statement that the whole number of dead was 4,000. It is clearly meant that the supposition is false, and that it obtained currency among the Persians owing to the presence of helots.

In any case, there underlies this story a number of dead totally inconsistent with that implied in the narration of the Seventh Book, which is obviously founded on a highly coloured Spartan version. The hypothesis which I have suggested explains the greater number of dead; for to those who fell in the pass are to be added those who were slain in fighting against the troops of Hydarnes outside the pass.

METEORA.

METEORA. BY THE REV. A. H. CRUIKSHANK.

PLATES II. AND III.

A VISIT to the monasteries of Meteora is easier now than in 1834, when Curzon, escorted by a party of "klephts," reached them from the North. One feels, in reading the account of his rapid passage from Corfu to the valley of the upper Peneus and back again, that it was touch and go in those days. Now the traveller can approach Meteora by the railway, the chief outward and visible sign of improvement in the region assigned to Hellas by the Treaty of Berlin. To any one who has the time to spare I can strongly recommend a week in Thessaly, as it contains several objects of first-rate interest, and is in many respects unlike the rest of Greece. The population is largely Wallachian, and their bronzed shaggy faces suggest the uncomfortable thought, that the veneer of civilisation is even thinner than elsewhere in these parts. It is easy to believe that such a population would like nothing better than frisking into Macedonia in surreptitious bands.

Our programme in Thessaly last May was this : first, to penetrate to Larissa and Tempe, thereby seeing the noble Bay of Volo, Pelion with its four-and-twenty villages, the elegant Pyramid of Ossa, and majestic Olympus : secondly, to visit Meteora. As the Thessalian railway bifurcates at Velestino, the ancient Pheræ, where Apollo tended the herds of Admetus, we had to return from the picturesque semi-Turkish Larissa to this junction ; then gradually ascending a steep incline we passed into the western half of the large bare Thessalian plain. We could have tried the cross-country route from Larissa to Trikkala, but were warned that it took two days, and that the accommodation midway at Zarkos was indifferent.

The Thessalian trains are comfortably arranged, and the traveller, as elsewhere on Greek lines, is allowed to do just as he likes. The population seemed to enjoy travelling much ; not only were the third-class carriages full, but there were plenty of well-to-do people in western dress, in the first (and only other) class. Each station was crowded with people in great variety of costume, though in these parts the "fustanella" is comparatively rare, and the "fez" almost universal. We came before long to Phersala, the ancient Pharsalus, straggling under a fine double-peaked Acropolis : the Enipeus was not at all full of water, though cows stood here and there cooling themselves. An

adequate and cheap meal was obtainable at the station, which is two miles from the town. We tried to reconstruct the manœuvres of Cæsar and Pompey on these fields now waving with corn. The landscape is certainly worthy of the occasion which has made it famous. The range of Pindus was dimly visible, covered here and there with snow, through a haze. Indeed, after the clear air of Athens, the Thessalian fog, exhaled from many rivers, reminded us of northern regions, and during the whole visit we were not really able to see the whole of Olympus clearly at one time.

Sixty miles from Volo is Sophades, where for two or three miles round the plain was covered with vast crowds of shepherds, cattle-dealers, and others, in every variety of costume, while thousands of animals in droves stood patiently about. It was clearly one of the great annual fairs, like Frith's Derby Day without the grand stand. Soon the line, which had hitherto been running due west, turned north-west, and fourteen miles farther on passed Phanari, perched on a romantic height to the left. At length we crossed the Peneus, already a deep and muddy stream, but only one among several such, and soon reached Trikkala, the chief town of these parts, but too far from the station to make out very clearly. If we had had time we might have stayed the night here, gone on to Meteora early the next day, and seen it thoroughly, sleeping in one of the monasteries, and returning for a night to Trikkala the third day. And this is what I should advise any one who visits Meteora to do, who is not pressed for time, unless indeed he should prefer to take his books with him, and stay even longer.

Fourteen miles from Trikkala, and a hundred-and-one from Volo, is Kalabaka, a white town, nestling at the foot of the limestone rocks, on which the monasteries of Meteora stand. These rocks have already been visible from the train for a long time, looking like pillars, and as you draw nearer you see them first on this side and then on that, though no monasteries are visible as yet to the inexperienced eye, and indeed Hagios Stefanos is the only one that can be seen from this side. The country round Kalabaka, and on the lower slopes of the hills, is very fertile and well cultivated. Here, as at Velestino, the eye is refreshed with abundance of trees. Kalabaka, the ancient Aeginium, stands where the Peneus (now called the Salamvriás) enters the Thessalian plain, where Cæsar in his campaign against Pompey crossed the range

METEORA.

of Pindus. The shallow river here covers a great extent of ground with dry channels and rocks, showing how much it expands in flood-time.

Kalabaka seems large and prosperous, more so, indeed, than in Curzon's time, who thought it looked singularly black, the reason being that it had recently been burned and sacked by the "klephths," while the remnant of the inhabitants had taken refuge in the deserted monasteries of Hagios Nicola, and Hagia Mone. It need scarcely be said, that, though acting on good advice, we had taken an escort in visiting Tempe, we were under no apprehension of brigands at Meteora. The question was whether to see the monasteries hastily, and sleep at Kalabaka, as the train next morning left at seven, or to stay in one of the monasteries and risk catching the train; eventually we decided to do the latter, leaving our heavy luggage at the station, and I have no doubt that the choice was a wise one. If we had been travelling with our own servant it would not have mattered so much, but the Xenodochion of Kalabaka would certainly not have fed us so well as the hospitable monks of Hagios Stefanos.

On emerging from the station we were confronted by the usual assembly of screaming men and boys with mules. After effecting a bargain we mounted, the stirrups here being of rope, an uncomfortable device too common in Greece. My guide was an elderly person of unprepossessing appearance, with no hair on his head, parchment skin and an evil eye. Baedeker announces that the most interesting of the monasteries is Hagios Barlaam,* and thither I was bent on going, but our muleteers took advantage of our slight acquaintance with the language and ignorance of the geography to take us in an entirely opposite direction. Perhaps it was as well, for we were late as it was, not arriving at Kalabaka till four p.m. Our path led us in one hour to Hagios Stefanos, where Baedeker advises you to pass the night, the nearest monastery to the outside world. It wound round and under the precipitous crags, leaving Kalabaka on the left, up richly wooded slopes. It seemed easy enough to find, but we discovered to our cost the next morning that it was not. On the contrary we soon lost our way on the return, plunged into a steep ravine too much to the left, from which we scrambled with some difficulty, and very nearly missed the train.

* The b is of course pronounced as an English v.

Before going any further I wish to protest against the current notion that the modern Greek speaks entirely by accent. On getting home I was reproved for talking of Meteōra, when we know of course that in ancient Greek the accent was on the e. The modern Greek, it is true, shortens the penultimate of Aegina and Phaleron, but all I can say is, monk and peasant alike talked of Meteōra, and the inhabitants of the place have surely the right to accent as they please.

As to describing the situation after it has been so well done by Curzon, I feel quite unequal to the task. The best plan will be to quote a few of his words. "The end of a range of rocky hills seems to have been broken off by some earthquake, or washed away by the deluge, leaving only a series of twenty or thirty tall, thin, smooth, needle-like rocks, many hundred feet in height; some like gigantic tusks, some shaped like sugar-loaves, and some like vast stalagmites. These rocks surround a beautiful grassy plain. . . . Some of the rocks shoot up quite clean and perpendicularly from the smooth green grass, some are in clusters, some stand alone like obelisks." The only thing like these rocks which I had ever seen before is the Needles off the Isle of Wight, but they are on a very much larger scale than the Needles, and the colouring is different, being reddish in parts. The name "Meteora" or "in the air" is thus strikingly appropriate for these haunts of mediæval devotion. Though there are now only four or five instead of four-and-twenty monasteries in use, and no hermits that we could see, and though the protection of the situation is unnecessary under the rule of King George, I think those wrong who sneer at the institution as absurd, for after all the buildings have historical associations, and being there may as well be used.

The chief impressions which we formed as we went up were, first, that this was the end of the world. It seemed as if there could be nothing beyond that limestone barrier. And secondly, we were struck by the deep stillness which reigns all around. Baedeker had said the same before us, but he was more fortunate in hearing the silence interrupted from time to time by convent bells. We heard nothing of the kind the whole time. Presently we began to arrive, and having reached a level spot, descended over bare slippery terraces of rock to Hagios Stefanos, which is very much as it was in Curzon's time. It stands on a detached rock, facing the outer world on three sides, approached by a drawbridge

PLATE II.

HAGIA TRIAS.

British School at Athens, Annual II.



METEORA.

on the fourth over a deep chasm, at this point not more than twelve feet wide. The sides of the rock are covered with ivy, and far below us to the right lay the town of Kalabaka, nestling upon the slopes of the main central block of this group of hills. The Peneus flowed beyond, and Pindus towered above to the west; to the east were lower smiling hills of a deep green. The view down the valley towards Trikkala was equally fine, and I have seldom seen anything more charming than the panorama from Hagios Stefanos in the early morning.

The monks of Hagios Stefanos seemed to expect visitors, and in broken Greek we expressed a desire to spend the night there. All thought of Hagios Barlaam had to be given up, as it was a long way off. We had still an hour or more before darkness fell and the convent gate closed, which we spent in visiting Hagia Trias. (See Plate II.) But first we rambled round Hagios Stefanos and penetrated to a terrace, without any parapet, on the edge of a sheer precipice, looking straight down on Kalabaka. The buildings are irregularly grouped, some of wood, some of stone, round a courtyard. The only feature of any architectural merit is the chapel, with the usual central dome and κόγχη at the East end, recently restored. Indeed there were signs of neatness and prosperity about the place. The stone carvings on the porch, which is on the north, not the west front, opening into quite a small cloister, were quaint and rich, and the woodwork of the screen before the altar very delicate and graceful. Unfortunately, as in so many Greek churches, the interior was too dark for us to see very clearly about us, but it did not seem, though comparatively spacious, to have any special feature.

The path to Hagia Trias lay round some uncomfortable corners, and down one very steep bit. Straight above us, about 200 feet, was the monastery; through a cleft to the left, the lower valley and Kalabaka were again visible. No means of access could be seen except a long rope ending in a stout hook, which dangled from a wooden balcony above. Presently, one or two figures appeared on the balcony, and directed us to what looked like palings on the rock, but which turned out to be ladders fastened on the wall, running up a cleft to the top. The approach to this ran along a ledge, protected from danger by a crazy fence, nor was the ladder at any point exposed on the face of the cliff to the air of heaven, as one sees in Curzon's picture

of H. Barlaam. It was now plain that the rope was not for human beings, but for hoisting provisions. Once launched on the ladder, we found that as each rung pulled out from the wall when touched, there was a disagreeable feeling of insecurity. At last, however, we emerged into a shed through an iron trap-door, and were conducted to a comfortable room, with a divan and windows running round three sides, and one or two pictures on the walls, including the inevitable ones of the King, the Queen and the *βιάσοχος*. As no one seemed inclined to talk, there was an awkward silence until coffee and "ouzo" * appeared. We had already partaken of these at H. Stefanos, but it seemed ungracious to refuse.

Then we went to see the chapel, smaller than that at H. Stefanos, though there seemed to be here as many monks. It was richly painted and the air laden with incense. As one gaunt figure was standing at his devotion, we did not like to peer about too much. Thence to the garden and the well, last of all to a little rock-hewn chapel, covered with frescoes, near the trap-door where we entered. I must not forget also the admirable view which we obtained from the little plateau on which H. Trias stands, of the distant monasteries of H. Barlaam, and Meteoron, the highest of all. (See Plate III.) There was something in the Hagia Trias which was very pleasing; it is more in the heart of things than H. Stefanos; the views are beautiful, and the sitting-room quite attractive. A young Greek from Trikkala who knew some French, was spending the night there, and I have no doubt that the monks would have been glad to entertain us. As it was, we had to content ourselves with putting something in the chapel-box and returning on foot to our quarters, where we parted with the evil-eyed one with some difficulty. He was anxious to stay the night, and carry down our things in the morning. We assured him we could do this ourselves, and he at length departed.

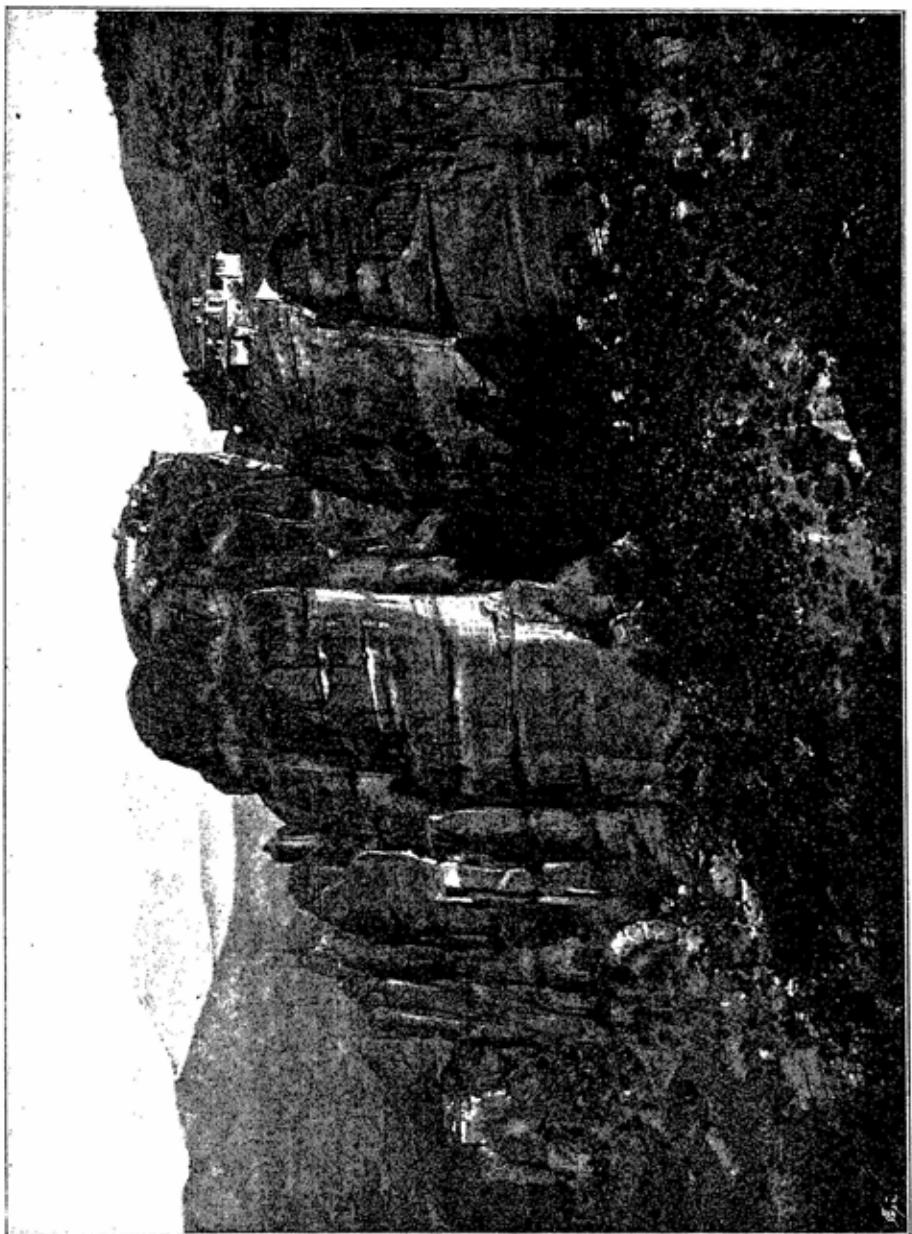
Before dinner was ready we had a long conversation with the chief monk. The sitting-room was devoid of furniture except the divan; on the walls were several pictures, among them a large oil-painting of a Hegoumenos some forty years back, with grey beard and Russian orders, a very formidable likeness doubtless. The monk told us that there were only five monks there now, and that the Hegoumenos

* Ouzo is the Thessalian name for Masticha.

PLATE III.

METEORA AND HAGIOS BARLAAM.

British School at Athens, Annual II.



METEORA.

was away for the night at Trikkala. He asked us what the Hagia Trias was like very much as if he had never been there, and said five foreign ladies had stayed in the monastery the night before. Another black-bearded monk soon joined us, whose conversation was more intellectual. He told us that there was hardly any library,* and that the monks assumed a new name when they entered the monastery. But conversation was rather hard to keep up, as the monks did not round off their words like the Greeks of Athens, but spoke rapidly and rather in the throat. At length dinner was announced outside in the dark passage: the Manciple and Pericles waited on us. There was nothing Olympian about this Pericles: unlike his namesake he was young and merry, a boy of ten or eleven, always making faces and trying to join in the conversation. The first monk presided over the banquet, which consisted of several courses, with some good sweet Thessalian "Kiasi." The first dish inspired me with apprehension, as it seemed to be chiefly bone, but our host was enjoying the meal so much himself, that I am sure he was not offended at our hesitation. The subsequent courses, in which, among other things, we had a curious mixture of greens and raisins, and some sour Kaimaki, made amends, and we ended with coffee, and cigarettes provided by the guests. I found here, as elsewhere, that a sure way of pleasing the rural Greek was to present him with some unused English stamps. Our host pronounced the head of Queen Victoria on a penny stamp to be *πάντα ὡραῖα*.

The bedroom on the same floor was arranged for five persons. Washing accommodation, as we had before found at Voulkano, there was none, but there was glass in the windows. We slept very well, and in the morning, after a hasty cup of coffee, brought by the smiling Pericles, sallied forth to cast a last glance at the chapel. Then we bade adieu to the two monks, thanked them for their courtesy, and put our contribution as directed in the box. Then, after giving the Manciple a few drachmas, and not forgetting the statesman who followed us to the drawbridge, we started off at six to catch the train.

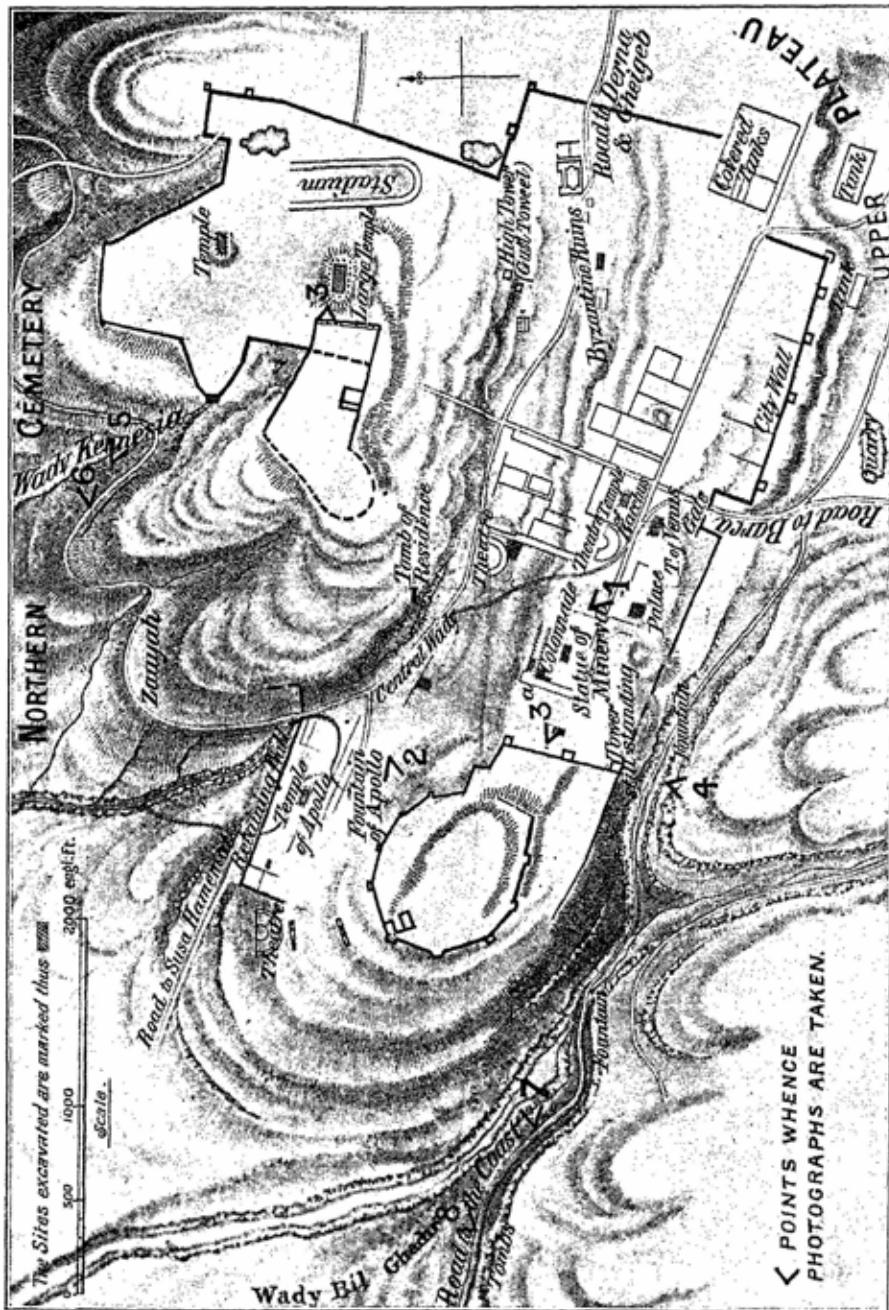
And so ended a visit I would willingly have prolonged, for Baedeker had excited my desire to see the frescoes of H. Barlaam. Here too we might have been hauled up in a net by a windlass, a process which, however disagreeable it may be in reality, as described

* Curzon pronounced the libraries at H. Stefanos and Trias to be worthless.

by Curzon, is the chief fact about Meteora known to the outside world: And perhaps if we had been to Meteoron itself, we might have found there the two beautiful MSS. which Curzon coveted, and so nearly secured at the cost of a domestic revolution. But I hope that at some future date, when the Eastern question is settled, one may once again penetrate to Meteora, and after seeing it more in detail, leave by the beautiful route which Curzon followed, through Mezzo to Janina, and thence down to the stern Albanian coast. In any case I commend the expedition which we made as easy and interesting, for the monks of H. Stefanos have good will and good cheer, the views are beautiful, and the situation and surroundings are unique.

RUINS OF CYRENE : GENERAL PLAN.

British School at Athens, Annual II.



A VISIT TO CYRENE IN 1895.

A VISIT TO CYRENE IN 1895. BY HERBERT WELD-BLUNDELL.

PLATE IV.

THE difficulties that hedged round the Garden of the Hesperides in the Greek seem still destined to make the Cyrenaica, a country to which the eyes of archæologists have so wistfully turned, almost as inaccessible to the modern traveller as to the heroes of ancient fable. The classic maidens have vanished, the Garden is somewhat run to seed, but the dragon of early legend is there, in the person of the native official who guards the historical treasures that lie strewn over the rich sites of the Pentapolis, stately tombs that worthless Arabs kennel in or plunder for statues and vases, to be peddled to Maltese or Greeks for (literally) home consumption or foreign export.

Through the kind intervention of Lord Rosebery who, as Foreign Minister, might represent the Atlas of the newer style, a firman was obtained enabling me to go through the country and visit the sites of the ancient Cyrene, Ptolemaïs, Barca, and Apollonia (now Ain Shahat, Tolmeta, Merj, and Marsa Susa). "You may look but you mustn't touch," was the essence of this official document. All excavation was strictly prohibited, and being surrounded by officials who, however kind and polite, traditionally view strangers with the deepest suspicion, I knew too much to do anything that might, by any native malice and the lively imagination of a large escort of soldiers, be construed into an infringement of the regulations set forth in the firman.

All I can do, therefore, is to present a few photographs, and the results of such observation as could be made during a hurried visit, marred by such appalling weather that I felt nothing could save archæology from eternal condemnation by my escort and the officials, but to make my stay as short as possible. I propose to illustrate this paper by some extracts from an interesting communication from Professor Studniczka, whose brilliant monograph *Kyrene* has given a strong incentive to further research in this region, by pointing to problems and raising questions that can never hope for definite solution till we appeal to the final judgment of the spade.

The remains of Benghazi, pretty well worked out by Dennis and others, do not call for particular remark. The most curious reminiscence of ancient legend are the waters of Lathon, now called the Jakh,

about six miles east of Benghazi. The great level limestone plain surrounding the town presents, at various points, deep sunken pits, some of which are beautifully cultivated and have been supposed to represent the famous Gardens of the Hesperides. In one of these depressions there is found an opening in the solid wall of rock, and on entering it, we are on the edge of an underground lake, roofed over by a lofty dome of solid rock, a black, weird-looking pool that inspires the present natives with as much superstitious awe as the ancient Greeks.

We easily induced a dozen Arab urchins to strip and swim about with candles and shiplights, and their brown bodies like hobgoblins darting about with lights flashing into the dark recesses and glittering stalactites of the roof, made a scene worthy of the highest effort of Drury Lane at a Christmas pantomime. During the scene we paddled about in a boat we had brought from the harbour, and examined the whole extent. It is about 320 feet long by 240 broad, and 27 feet deep, and divided by a rock which forms an island at the further end. The water is quite sweet. There are no channels forming outlets that we could find, but water percolates very freely in the porous limestone; and as the lake maintains always the same level, it may be taken as certain that there is a continual flow of fresh water from and to the surrounding channels worked by its action in the body of the rock.

“Lethon tacitus praelabitur amnis
Infernus ut fama, trahens oblivia venis.”
Lucan, *Phars.* ix. 355.

Some interesting questions of semi-mythical geography relating to the positions of Lethé and Lake Triton suggest themselves, but these belong to the domain of geography rather than archaeology, and I will content myself with pointing out that the story of Herodotus (iv. 179), where Jason is said, *πρὶν κατιδέσθαι γῆν ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος*, would suit the opposite coast of the Syrtis, in the region of the great salt lagoons above the Little Syrtis (Gulf of Gabes), much better than the neighbourhood of Benghazi or Hesperis, where Strabo, Pindar, Callimachus, and Pliny place the fabled birthplace of Athena. A modern skipper would probably be in this case the best scholiast on the poets and writers of antiquity. Here, as so often happens, the legend has recorded a commonplace physical fact, such as might be easily overlooked by the literary and archaeological critic, but one

A VISIT TO CYRENE IN 1895.

which is important enough to supply an easy explanation of the legend, and to throw light on the geographical side of the question.

According to the "Mediterranean Pilot," the official guide, published by the Admiralty, the only tide of importance in the Mediterranean is that along the western coast of the Syrtis, where the rise sometimes amounts to over 5 feet—a phenomenon that would at any time be well calculated to puzzle a classical skipper accustomed to a tideless sea, but much more so under the conditions of a greatly increased rise, due to a northerly wind piling the water up on these shoal coasts, and putting the navigator in the position of having to beat out (an unknown manœuvre to ancient mariners), or take the risk of running aground when the tide fell—*ἐν βράχεσι γίγνεσθαι*.

It is true the *Boreus* of Herodotus (the prevailing wind in winter) would scarcely drive a ship on to any part of the Syrtis from Cape Malea, but it would drive it to the coast of Libya, and approaching the point of Ras Sém (northerly point of the Cyrenaica), he would be caught by the wind, which "divides" * at this point, and driven to the west across the Syrtis. The story of Jason's adventure, therefore, is more in accordance with the physical conditions of the western than the eastern side of the great Bight of Sydra. The prediction of the Triton who epiphanised to Jason, that "it was fated that a hundred Greek cities should be built around Lake Tritonis" (Herod. iv. *l.c.*), is certainly in contradiction to this, and could scarcely refer to any place except one on the borders of the Pentapolis. This position, in fact, is taken as the true one of Lake Triton by Strabo (who in this region follows generally, but inaccurately, the account of Herodotus), Callimachus (*Tritonos ἐφ' ὕδασιν Ασβέστοιο*—*Frag.* xiii.), Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, and Pindar (*Pyth.*, iv.).

Scylax of Caryanda, Herodotus in all other passages except in the context above, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, and Lucan, place it on the west side of the Syrtis Magna, somewhere between the southern point of the Syrtis Parva (Gulf of Gabes) and a point on the coast one hundred and eighty stades from Carthage by land (Scylax), the position being more nearly defined on the south by Ptolemy, who gives a list of

* "Ras Sem, which is remarkable for the fact that the prevailing north-westerly winds at this point veer on the coast eastward of it to the north-west, and on the coast westward of it to the north-east."—*Medit. Pilot*, vol. ii, p. 336, 3rd edit.

towns between river Bagradas and Triton *below* Carthage (*υπὸ Καρχηδόνα*), and then, *i.e.*, south of Triton; a list of towns *after* (*ἀπό*) Hadrumetum, which, as his enumeration proceeds from east to west, would indicate a position north of this town (present *Susa*). So far the evidence points generally to the western side of the great bight, but a good deal of literature has been devoted to a more exact localisation.

The system of shallow lakes or shotts, viz., Melghir, Gharsa, and Jerid, situated west of the bight or Gulf of Gabes, was pitched upon by Shaw as Lake Triton, the three lakes of Ptolemy (Libya, Pallas, and Triton) being represented by the three basins of Lake Jerid. In this he was followed by Desfontaines, Rennel, Guérin, and Sir Grenville Temple. On the other hand, Caretti, Tissot, Roudaire, Duveyrier, &c., identified the three lakes of Ptolemy with the three shotts mentioned above. Minnert and d'Avezac placed Lake Triton itself in the shallow head of the Gulf of Gabes, while Caretti, Tissot, Roudaire, Duveyrier, and Largeau thought that it was an immense inlet of the sea stretching in ancient days from Gabes to Biskra, on the supposition that the lakes were below the level of the sea. The famous theory of the great inland sea, and the sensational proposal of reconstituting it by opening the communication with the Mediterranean, was, however, knocked on the head by the later hydrographic survey, which established the existence of an intervening ridge of rock separating the hydrographic basin from the sea, and showing the level of the lakes to be higher above the level than could be accounted for by any ordinary secular movement of the land.

M. Rouire, after a hydrographic survey undertaken in 1885, of which he was a member, was led by its results to put the site of Lake and River Triton in the Gulf of Hammamet, and came to the following conclusions:—

i. The *λίμνη* of Scylax is the lagoon system contiguous to the littoral of Hammamet.*

* Ἀπὸ δὲ Θάψου (.) τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ Δρονίτις ἐστὶ κόλπος μέγας ἔισω, ἐν φῷ Σύρτις ἐστὶ δὲ μικρὰ Κιρκενῖτις καλουμένη 'Εν ταύτῃ τῇ Σύρτιδι ἐνέστηκεν δὲ νῆσος Τριτωνὶς καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Τριτών, &c. There is a lacuna in the text after the word Θάψου which has been filled in various ways by Vossius, Fabricius, Muller and Grenovius—the last three adopting 'Αδρυμητος instead of Δρονίτις. All these, however, strengthen rather than impair the general effect of the passage which places the respected spots ἀπὸ Θάψου (sixty miles *north* of the Gulf of Gabes).

A VISIT TO CYRENE IN 1895.

2. The *Λίμνη* of Herodotus is the Sebkha of Halk el Mengel.
3. The island of Triton of Scylax is the present island of Ergela, or Hergla.
4. The island Phla of Herodotus is probably the very apparent "monticules" situated in the centre of Sebkha Halk el Mengel.
5. The river Triton is the present Wady Menfès (*La découverte du Bassin hydrographique de la Tunisie Centrale*, Paris, 1887).

The points of agreement of this position with the detailed account of Herodotus (iv. 186, 187, 191) are :—

- (1) It agrees with the limits given to the nation (Machlyes) who eat the Lotus, which plant is found up to this boundary; *
- (2) There is an outlet into the sea instead of an intervening ridge, as in the more southern position, in the Gulf of Gabes; and,
- (3) It constitutes more nearly the dividing zone between the tract of the Sahara and the cultivatable country † which the historian ascribes to Lake Triton (iv. 191).

Against this identification is the fact that though the coast is very low and difficult to make out from the sea, the water is not so shoal nor the tides so great, as a little further south off Surkenis, just at the northern curve of the Gulf of Gabes.‡

Neumann (*Nord Afrika*) traverses the ground again, and points out discrepancy in the extent of the shotts suggested by Rouire with those of ancient geographers. As explained above, however, the inset of the currents caused by the continuance of northerly and north-easterly winds accounts for almost any degree of variation in the estimated extent of these shallow inlets along the whole coast. At Benghazi, for instance, a hard norther will drive the sea up into the shallows until many square miles are covered, and a ridge of hills to the south, normally a mile or so from the bay, stands out like an island in the midst of a huge lake. It is by occasional change wrought

* Mayet, *Voyage dans le sud de la Tunisie*, p. 82.

† Du Paty de Clam claims this for the southern position. "Le Djerid, en effet, est la terminaison des pentes montagneuses de petit relief qui tombe brusquement sur le Chott Djerid," and lays stress on the great fertility of the Djerid basin. This, however, is practically an oasis, and desert sterility reigns again to the north of it as far as the hydrographic basin of the Wad El Fekka, which Rouire pronounces the true boundary between the fertile and desert region. (Cp. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, p. 249, and Poinsot, *Bull. des antiqu. afric.* 1884.).

‡ Mayet, *Reconnaissance de Tunisie*, p. 13; *Admiralty Chart*, p. 249; *Mediterr. Pilot*, vol. ii.

by the wind and currents that Beechey (*Proceedings*, p. 334) explains the text of Strabo, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα νησίον ἔστι, and adopts his position for Lake Triton.

Like the Garden of the Hesperides and the other spots made famous by poets, and described by them from vague reports embroidered by their own fancies, the identification was a hopeless task to the early geographers. It became more so as accurate knowledge made the positions indicated more and more irreconcilable with the great classics which, in the minds of many Greek writers (*e.g.*, Strabo, in his following Homer's geography), held the place that sacred Scriptures hold for critics of the present day. To avoid the clashing with their revered authorities, fabled sites were pushed further away to less known parts, until, as geography spread and left no part available, they vanished altogether. It would have been better, perhaps, if they had taken a hint from the advice of Lucan :—

“ Invidus annoso qui famam derogat aevo
Qui vates ad vera vocat.”

Phars. ix. v. 361.

The laboured attempt at accuracy of Ptolemy is considerably impaired by his fundamental error in the outline of the north coast—an error which was not rectified in the days of Strabo, who added another by elongating the north coast of Africa to fit into his misapprehension of the lie of the Iberian peninsula. Neumann, however, goes too far when he says Ptolemy's attempts are, “ebenso wertlos wie die Angaben über viele andere Punkte des inneren Afrika's.” (*Nord Afrika*, p. 58). The whole myth evaporates after the closer acquaintance of the Romans with this coast, resulting from the Carthaginian wars, and there is no mention of Lake Triton or its islands in the works of Polybius, Sallust and Appian, or in the Itineraries of Antoninus and the Stadiasmus. It must, however, be conceded to Rouire that not only are there fewest objections to his identification, but it is very much more probable that the first reports and descriptions would have reached the Greeks from mariners who were making for the settlements at Carthage; and it would be more in accordance with the natural phenomena that these vessels would, if they were carried by the currents or winds, be embayed within some nearer point to their destination than the shores of the lesser Syrtis.

A VISIT TO CYRENE IN 1895.

JOURNEY FROM BENGHAZI.

A short day's camel ride brings the traveller to the foot of the plateau which presents a steep terraced rampart to the Mediterranean on the north and the Libyan desert on the south, and forms what is known to the Arabs as the Gebel Akhdar or "Green Mountain." The journey from this point is over an undulating tract of generally fertile, but almost totally deserted country, abandoned like an ill-kempt garden to the hand of nature, who here, in the mood of a landscape gardener, has laid it out with clumps of artistically-arranged laurustinus, juniper, arbutus, and undulating plains painted with gorgeous flowers, and smooth stretches of short fine turf, overshadowed by rugged olive and flowering oleander.

One might imagine oneself coming out of the Malvern Hills on to the plains of Hereford in primeval days, as one emerges from grassy hills on to the great red-soiled plain of Merj—a perfectly level tract of rich corn-land, 20 miles long, circled by a chain of well-wooded limestone hills. One draggled village of poverty-stricken Arabs dominated by a Turkish fort, is all that remains of the ancient prosperity of Barka.

Beyond some columns and cornices, and other fragments built into walls, there are no visible remains of interest, and after spending two days at Ptolemaïs (Tolmeta), the nearest point to the sea and the seaport in its days of prosperity, we struck across the upper plateau towards Grennah, in which Arabic corruption the name of Kyrene survives.

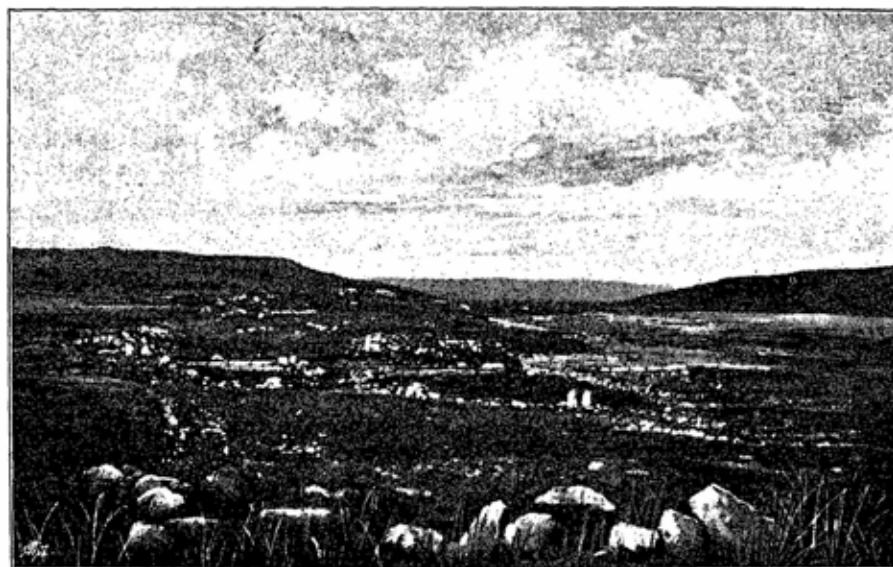
After passing through more mountainous but beautifully wooded and beflowered country, we descend into the magnificent gorge called Wadi Agraiba, where, for the first time in this land of natural landscape gardening, we get a glimpse of almost Alpine scenery, of beetling crag and towering pine. Its precincts had been just invaded by the ruthless woodcutter, and great boles encumbered the road, bearing witness to the energy of a new Pasha with an eye for improvements, who had condemned these splendid trees to rebuild the crumbling mud buildings of Benghazi.

On emerging from this gorge we are on the higher levels of the plateau and two days further bring us to the seaward edge of the great scarp, and here on the saddle between two twin hills, with a full view over

the blue Mediterranean, from which it is raised nearly 2,000 feet with a wooded terrace and a steep declivity intervening, lie the scattered ruins of the "golden throned" Cyrene.

The entrance to the field of ruins from the west is through a long avenue of tombs that line the road for two or three miles before the actual line of walls enclosing the Roman town is crossed. We are at once on the site marked on Smith and Porcher's map, "Temple of Venus." (For plan, see Plate IV.)

Turning to the left—*i.e.*, north—we gradually descend between



No. I.—VIEW OF THE RUINS, LOOKING SEAWARD.

the two hills (Fig. 1), stumbling over the ruts worn in the hard rock, the central or sacred way by which the ancient processions ascended from the plain, past the Fountain of Apollo, to the upper town. The swelling contours of the "Mamelons" (we have no word the exact equivalent of *μαστός*) with furrow between, and the dazzling white of the bare limestone hill on the sea side, suggest at once the 'Εν ἄρματον πόλιν ἐν ἀργανόεντι μαστῷ (Pind. *Pyth.* IV. v. 7), while the rich level plain on the south and north, above and below, brings before us the ὁχθον ἐς ἀμφίπεδον. (*Pyth.* ix. 85.)

A VISIT TO CYRENE IN 1895.

The results of Smith and Porcher's excavations in 1863, in revealing an almost exclusively Hellenistic and Roman art and city on the southern side, leave the site of the most ancient foundation still a matter of conjecture.

After seeing my photographs, Professor Studniczka kindly forwarded to me the following notes, which form an interesting commentary on the illustrations here reproduced, and a valuable contribution to the discussion of the question.

"To place with you the old town, especially the Castle of the Battades on the western hill (where you may be right to place the *ἄκρα* of the Ptolemaic period) even to-day seems to me to be in contradiction with all the evidence which prompted me (*Kyrene*, p. 167 ff.) along with Barth, to assume the old town to be situated rather on the north-eastern hillock, around the 'large temple' of the plan. I will here recapitulate again this evidence, since more completed and corrected.

"According to Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. 11), it was Battos I. who founded the town *ἐν ἀργυρόνοιτι μαστῷ* upon a 'glittering white,' consequently rocky hill of the shape of a flat cone (kegel), for only such a form can be signified as 'woman's breast,' *μαστός* (what Barth, p. 422, failed to recognise), as there is also a kind of goblet of that shape that bore the same figurative name. This hill rises from a level plain, for in *Pyth.* ix. 94, it is described by the poet as *οὐχθος ἀμφίπεδος*. That the term *οὐχθος* might also be well applied to a conical elevation, is proved, for instance, by the fact that the same writer (*Ol.* ix. 3), thus signifies the Kronion of Olympia. And such a hill as would correspond with these particulars I could not previously with the help of the plan, and cannot even now by means of your photographs (Nos. 1 and 2), find anywhere else but in one—and certainly the larger one—of the two conical elevations which rise from the flat plateau of the north-eastern part of the town. The point as to whether one of these *οὐχθοι* is also meant to refer to that rocky hill, called Myrtussa, in the neighbourhood of which, according to Apollonius (*Argonautika* ii. 507), the Nymph Kyrene was deposited by Apollo, and from which, according to Kallimachus (*Hymnos*, ii. 91), they both overlooked the eastern border of the sea, facing the island of Platea (Bomba), I would no longer affirm so positively as I did in *Kyrene*, p. 169."

Antiquity of the "Large Temple."—“The monumental data agree with the indications given us by Pindar much more closely than I had concluded from the printed reports. The chief building of this part of the town, the ‘Large Temple,’ which in *Kyr.*, p. 172, I believe to have proved with certainty as having been that of *Artemis*, is—leaving aside perhaps some rocky tombs—evidently the oldest edifice of which there exist architectural remains in Kyrene, by far more likely of the sixth



NO. 2.—VIEW OVER THE CENTRAL “WADY,” OR ANCIENT ROAD, TAKEN FROM THE
WESTERN HILL. ROCK-CUT TOMBS IN THE MIDDLE DISTANCE.

than of the beginning of the fifth century B.C. This opinion of Barth (p. 432), who had shortly before viewed the old Sicilian Temples (p. v.), would have never struck me as doubtful, had I seen your photograph No. 3, where, if my eyes do not entirely deceive me, it is especially the capital on the right that enables us to distinguish the heavy archaic forms with the widely extending Echinus.”

The Position of the ancient Royal Palace.—“My assumption (*Kyr.* p. 174) that the temple had, only after the banishment of the

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kings towards the middle of the fifth century, taken the place of the Palace of the Battiades, falls to the ground. Of course, the smaller, more northern hill with the 'Temple' which I have ascribed (*Kyrene*, p. 169) to the old Polias, the Nymph Kyrene, cannot be taken into any consideration with regard to the King's residence. I, however, hold it to be quite possible that we must take this palace to have been, in the earliest time of the town, when the kings were still living at peace with their people, by no means an isolated, fortified castle, but rather a free palace that was situated within the old town. Now you have put on the plan in the west of the 'Large Temple,' with red ink, a large group of foundations of walls which, as far as one may venture to judge from such a sketch, might well enough correspond with an old-Greek palace edifice with several *μέγαρα*. Whether this idea has any justification or not, that, of course, could only be judged after a close knowledge of the nature of the architecture of these ruins. The conclusion, however, that the house of the Battiades was really situated in about this neighbourhood, I think I can deduce in another way."

The Royal Tombs.—“According to Pindar (*Pyth.* 5, 130), the Kings of Kyrene, with the exception of the founder, who had been buried aside on the Agora, were buried before their palace—*πρό διωμάτων*. If one understands this *πρό* as one is obliged to do, from the standpoint of one who has arrived by the ancient principal road, through the 'Central Wady,' and if one further takes the kings' tombs to have been rock tombs, as we are equally obliged to do in the face of the magnificent ancient Necropoleis, then these kings' tombs must be found on the southern declivity of my 'old town.' Now, the declivity shows, indeed, as one can see from your photos. (No. 2), a rather closely connected row of tombs which assuredly belong to the oldest series, as they are situated in the middle of the later territory of the town, and have suffered much more injury than almost any others. And the



No. 3.—ROW OF CAPITALS, "LARGER TEMPLE."

ancient splendour of these tombs, such as we must consider to have been characteristic of Royal tombs, is, at least, still testified by the extraordinary size of their compartments; see especially the 'Tomb of residence' in Smith and Porcher (p. 23)."

The Relation of the old Town to the Source of Apollo. Agora.—"As in Athens, the old πόλις (= ἀκρόπολις) was at some distance from Kallirhoè on the Ilissos, so also this town of Kyrene was situated rather far away from the principal source. This, moreover, is implied by the statement of Pindar (*Pyth.* v., 121 ff.), that Battos I. had built a magnificent road for processions to the sanctuary of Apollo; a road which is recognised by all visitors as the chief road mentioned above, and which gradually descends by the 'Central Wady' to the large platform on which stands the Temple of Apollo. It will not do to recognise in this terrace with Barth (p. 428) the old Agora, near which the founder of the town was buried; if (1) its retaining walls really prove to be, as I believe may be seen on the photo. No. 4,* of exactly the same construction as those of the walls (as a part of which the wall of the terrace very probably turns out to be); and (2) if I was right in attributing this wall to the age of Ptolemy. Generally, however, the assumption of Pindar's Agora in this plain near the source seems to me quite possible, as 'Ain Shahat' will have formed, even in antiquity, the natural meeting-centre for the Nomads who were living around it. Only, I should have thought the market must have extended right up to the declivity immediately to the west of the old-town; for we must suppose the tomb of the founder, Battos (which, according to Pindar, lay on the Agora), to have been a rock-tomb; as this form of burial had already been in use at Thera (Ross, *Archäol. Aufsätze*, ii. p. 415 ff.)."

The Fortifications of the old Town.—"Thus, the old town, as it presents itself to my mind, seems to me to correspond in every respect with the literary traditions, as well as with the evidence of the topography and monuments. To your contention that the south-western elevation was much more suitable for a fortified settlement in the midst of a hostile country, I reply that the north-eastern hill, the eastern side excepted,

* The retaining wall consists of two parts, an upper of long blocks *not* laid in the style of the tower in Photo. 5, and a lower, much heavier masonry, which, however, could only be pronounced upon after excavation.

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is also surrounded with rather steep declivities, and is, moreover, as far as I can see, situated somewhat higher still than the western, over which it has this advantage, that it offers space for a larger number of habitations. Besides, I should not suppose that at the earliest period of Kyrene the question of adaptability to fortification was considered as of much importance. For the harmless savages, among whom Battos settled down with his Theræans, probably understood very little of the arts of siege, and besides, we are assured by Herodotus, in conformity with the older form of the Antaios legend (*Kyrene*, p. 122), that, in the earliest age of the town, her relations to the Libyans were friendly throughout. Not until, owing to the division of the land by Battos II., the town grew more and more powerful and made ever larger claims on the back-land, provoking thereby the Libyans to armed resistance and to appeal for Egyptian intervention (Herodotus iv., 159 f.), did the necessity of fortifying the town as much as possible present itself."

The Extension of the Town towards the South.—“By the time when the population had increased so very largely, it had probably already begun to spread over the plateau to the south, which now covers the ruins of the Hellenic and Roman ages. That this place was already built upon in the fifth century we may conclude from the existence of the marble basis of one of the many victors in the chariot race (Photo. 3A); that is to say, if we may assume with certainty that its original position was near the place where your photograph shows it. For, as far as I am able to judge from the small representation, I should not take the workmanship of the relief to be later, but rather considerably older, than 400 B.C. According to older reports, however, other ancient stones in the neighbourhood were frequently made use of (as in the case of the building signified as



No. 3A.

"colonnade"), and such may also have been brought together from distant parts of the territory covered by the town."

My first impression from a view of the ground was, that the defensible nature of the western eminence would have naturally recommended itself to a small band of settlers in a country where the natives, even if friendly, were in overwhelming numbers, and, as they afterwards proved themselves, of ferocious disposition. The emigrants, too, were not merely a party of settlers, but a body led by a responsible commander, who would naturally look to its great strategic advantage as well as the absolute necessity of water supply,* not only for the newly-settled community, but for the preservation, in case of domestic difficulties, of himself and his royal house.†

If again, we appeal to ancient writers, even though such close reasoning on their exact meaning may be a little unfair to them, there are some grounds for at least allowing a claim to the north-west hill.

We have in Herodotus iv. a story of King Arcesilaus, who, after he had been expelled the country, consults the oracle at Delphi. The response contains the following sentence:—"If you find a furnace full of amphorae, do not take the amphorae, but send them away with a favourable wind. But if you heat the furnace enter not into a place surrounded with water, μή ἐσέλθης ἐς τὴν αμφίρρυτον, otherwise you will perish, yourself and a most beautiful bull." The meaning of the injunction was grasped by Arcesilaus when he captured some of his enemies in a tower and had set fire to it and burnt it down. To avoid the penalty prophesied by the oracle, he withdrew from Cyrene, thinking that this was the place surrounded by water, δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρίνην εἶναι.

As ruler and inhabitant of Cyrene, he would presumably be acquainted with such important facts connected with his own town.

Now the only sources of water in the neighbourhood are the four springs (called Ain Lebueda, Ain Bilghadir, Ain Lagara, and Ain el Legrain) besides the Ain Shahat or Fountain of Apollo on the north,

* "ὑδατῶν τε καὶ νεμάτων μάλιστα μὲν ὑπάρχειν πλῆθος δικεῖν."—Aristotle, *Polit.* vii., 11.

† "ἴον ἀκρόπολις διτγαργικόν καὶ μοναρχικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' ὅμαλότης" (Aristotle, *Polit.* vii., 11) shows that the relative values of positions were recognised and classified in early days. See also Herschfeld, *Zur Typologie Griech. Ansiedlungen, Hist. und Phil. Aufsätze*, 1884, Sept., pp. 6-9.

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and these lie roughly on the north-west and south-west of the western hill, *i.e.*, if, as is quite conceivable, these springs were utilised for the supply of conduits, fountains, &c., this portion of the territory might be legitimately described as *ἀμφίρρυτος*. On the other hand, there are no springs and no possible sources for surrounding the city in any sense with water on the other side.

The expression *πρόδωμάτων*, I think, would apply equally, if not better, to the west side (Photo. 2). The most prominent, in fact the only tombs that are visible directly in front of the summit are the line of these rock-cut tombs which have the appearance of being, and which Professor Studniczka considers as most likely, the oldest.

It would, perhaps, be fanciful to use the evidence of the account in Herodotus iv. 203, of the Persians who (coming from the West), when they had passed through the town, camped on the hill of Zeus Lycaios. There are no remains or prominent hills beyond these hills for some distance, the ground sloping into a vast level plain which is outside the line of fortifications, and covered with more modern tombs.

In taking stock of the various evidences at our command for the determination of the site of the oldest city, it cannot be insisted too strongly, that nothing less than a thoroughly complete and exact survey, amplified by extensive excavation, would justify a final judgment. Photography can at best only give what can be estimated by the eye; and this, where questions of levels, slopes, &c., arise, is only an adjunct, and that only reliable within a limited range, to scientific observation.

The plan of Beechy and that of Smith and Porcher, both mislead in the important point of the relative flatness of the plain south of the north-east hill, and the height of the site of the "Larger Temple." (See Map.) The elevation of the latter is not actually more than the accumulation of débris of the temple building, and the whole surface of the ground around is not level, as indicated in the plans, but slopes somewhat steeply into the central valley which is the continuation of the central road from the north plain, and divides the two saddles of the hills almost east and west.

It is this exaggerated prominence of the ground on which the "larger Temple" is marked, that has deceived Professor Studniczka

and apparently justified his taking this for the *μάστος* and *ῷχθος* of Pindar.

The expression *ῷχθος* was applied by the poet to the Kronion of Olympia, but this is a considerable hill 403 feet high, and scarcely comparable to an insignificant and slightly defined rising of the ground, or again to a small outcrop of rock on which are found the remains of the smaller temple.*

In the passage in the Hymn to Apollo of Callimachus, the poet represents the god showing to Cyrene, the future tutelary deity of the city, the Greek colonists at a time when they settled themselves on the present Gulf of Bomba, to the east of Derna † :—

ὅτι δ' οὐπώ πηγῆς κύριης ἐδύναντο πελάσιαι Δωρίες
πυκνὸν δὲ νάπαις "Ἄξιλιν ἔναιον.

From Myrtousa “of many peaks,” *στὰς ἐπὶ Μυρτούσης κερατωδέος*, the god points out a spot at least 55-60 miles off, so that, admitting poetical license and an eyesight befitting a god, we may reasonably conclude that an important and conspicuous eminence would be selected to give some verisimilitude to the occurrence, especially as in the next line this spot is described as *ἴχι λεοντα κατέπεφνε*, the spot where Cyrene kills her lion. Other mentions of this place, e.g. Apollonius (*Argonaut* ii. v. 505) *ἄι Λιβύην ἐνέμόντο παρὰ Μυρτώσιον ἄπος.*

As to the indications of former building on the two summits, there are lines of foundations on both—those on the eastern form an oblong ground-plan with a semicircular extension on the north-west side angle. The sides are 331 yards on the longer axis running north and south, and 131 yards on the shorter, measured on the sea or northern face. The stone, style, and state of decay are exactly those of the fortifications on the western hill and of the building marked “colonnade” in the centre of the city in Smith and Porcher’s plan. There is a dividing wall 85 yards from the side nearest to the “large temple”

* Cp. Herodotus viii. 52, where *ῷχθος* is applied to the hill of the Areopagus at Athens. In Aeschylus (*Pers.* 658) it is used of a tumulus of a grave, but in a very rhetorical context.

† So Herodotus (iv. 157) describes them—*ἀντίον τῆς νήσου* (the island of Platea—now Bomba) *τῷ οὖν θεῷ ήν Αζιρις*. That the place “Αζιλις is beyond to the east of the present Derna admits of no doubt, “Αζελος κάμη being placed by Ptolemy 35’ east of Darius (Derna) Νάζαρης var. Αζαριος by the Stadiasmus (the most accurate of all the guides to this part of the north coast of Africa) 150 stades east of the same town (Scylax, ‘Αζιλίτης or “Αζιρίτης λιμήν).

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(Smith and Porcher), which cuts the enclosure into two portions. Close to the western side, nearly in the centre, there are foundations of a building 20 feet by 16 feet in heavier masonry.

On the western hill, inside the enceinte of fortifications, on a slightly raised platform, are the remains of a large system of foundation walls almost buried in débris and covered with turf extending to the edge of the north-east side of the summit. From here there is a descent by two well-defined level terraces, 130 yards and 115 yards respectively in breadth, to the upper seats of the old theatre which faces the sea, the orchestra being on the same level as the buildings on the ground round the fountain of Apollo.

City Walls, &c.—There is still standing a considerable portion (part of three sides) of the fort at the most south-west angle of the great wall of fortifications, which, taking advantage of salient points of the ground and strengthened by towers at distances of about 80 yards, girdles the whole summit of the western hill (Photo. No. 4). The construction is of very heavy masonry, and is that which, carried out in brick, is known as "English bond." The blocks measure 4 feet 6 inches in length, 2 feet 6 inches in breadth, and 1 foot 3 inches in height.

Professor Studniczka compares these with the Servian wall in Rome (*Baumeister, Dankmäler*, iii. 1445). The construction is similar, but there is some difference in the scale of the masonry, the blocks of the Servian wall being given at 2 feet 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and 4 feet 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. It may here be desirable to quote Professor Studniczka's communication.

"*The ἄκρα of the Ptolemaic Period.*—You are certainly right in saying that the western hillock in Cyrene, on the northern declivity of which are situated the fountain of Apollo as well as the terrace with the Temple of this god, is perfectly fitted for an Acropolis, and has in antiquity indeed served as such, as was already assumed by Smith and Porcher (page 28). The latter shows the wall which forms the frontier of its plateau east from the rest of the town, by turning its



No. 4.

towers towards it. The time of this wall, I, of course, do not undertake to determine exactly without personal inspection. But the technical construction of the square stonework, as it is rendered clearly in your photograph (No. 4) gives at least a general determination of the period of this construction. The square stones, on an average of equal size, are laid alternatively in double rows of 'Läufer,' and in single ones of 'Binder,' which penetrate the whole thickness of the wall. With the means (certainly very incomplete), that are at my disposal, I cannot find that any similar construction existed earlier than the fifth century. The oldest example known to me is the substructure of the Parthenon, dating from the time of Kimon or Themistocles. However, this kind of construction I find made use of for town walls only in the 'Servian' wall in Rome (figured, for instance, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, iii. p. 1445), which, according to the opinion of O. Richter (*ibid.* p. 1446), 'can scarcely be dated so early as the fourth century B.C.' The nearest analogy to the construction of the tower of Kyrene appears to me to be offered by the excellently preserved towers of Pergè* (Lanckorovski, Petersen, Niemann, *Towns of Pamphylia*, p. 57 ff.), which Petersen quite correctly attributes to the Hellenistic period. In conformity with this is the fact that H. Barth (*Travels*, p. 425), assigns the southern wall of Kyrene ('city-wall' on the plan), which is most likely to belong to the same period, to about the second half of the third century B.C.

"At all events, the walls of the Western Citadel can consequently not be ascribed to the beginning of the town, but rather to the time after the banishment of the kings, most probably, however, to the Hellenistic period. After this, I scarcely have any doubt that we must place on the western hill the Ptolemaic fortress, the *άκρα* of Diodorus (xix., 79), as well as of Polyaenus (ii., 28), which, in concurrence with Barth (p. 432), I formerly (*Kyrene*, p. 169), looked for in the north. If it be correct that the Palace of Ophellas and Magas was really situated here, then this place may assume a prominent importance in the history of art as evidence for the study of Alexandrian architecture; such evidence,

* The walls of Pergè do not belong to the earlier foundation on the acropolis, but to the later one of the lower town. Arrian (*Exped. Pamphyl.* vol. i., p. 36; i. 26) does not speak of Pergè as if it were fortified in Alexander's day.

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though so very desirable, was hitherto as good as entirely wanting; even in Alexandria itself we must not expect to find much, according to the report by Hogarth (*Academy*, May 18th, 1895)."

Among other specimens of this fine construction carried out in its entirety, is a buttress wall, ending apparently in a fort, crossing and interrupted by the platform of the Temple of Eleusis, called the Portico of Philon.

Another small, but very perfect example, is offered by the foundations of a small temple near the gate in front of the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens.

Theatre.—The old theatre mentioned above, upon the upper tiers of which the constructions of the hill-summit abutted, is marked by the round orchestra and simply-constructed skenè of the older Greek period. The koilon is divided by a *dia ζ wma* into two portions, containing in the lower, 32-4 rows of seats, and in the upper, 8 rows. There seem to have been no Kerkides that I could make out.* The orchestra may be put at about 48 yards in diameter, and retains the original circular form. The seats are undercut, and measure 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep and 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.

Of all the beautiful sites selected for their theatres the Greeks could scarcely have built one in a position more lovely than this. Carved out of the face of the hill, with the back of the skenè on the very edge of the steep declivity, the spectators would have seen the stage backgrounded by the luxuriant terrace, 300 feet below, and the actors silhouetted against the blue expanse of the Mediterranean beyond. Wherever their eyes fell, wooded gardens, glittering monuments, and open sea would have met their gaze.

Fountain of Apollo.—The classical spot where the Greeks were led by the Libyans as a place fitted for "building a city, and where the heavens leak" (a phenomenon which, as we can bear witness, was no exaggeration in the wet winter of '94), is now much masked by native walls and vegetable gardens, cultivated with the pious object of supplying the neighbouring convent of fanatic disciples of Senussi with a varied assortment of vegetables. The heavy masonry of the Greek buildings is almost impossible to follow among the luxuriant growths of spinach and onions, and considerable difficulty would

* *Vide Barth, Wanderungen*, p. 430.

probably be now found, from the increased population and cultivation, in laying bare the underlying foundations by excavation.

At the eastern termination of this flat tract or platform round the Fountain of Apollo, the sacred way of Battos, where

Κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίας
 Ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
 Ἐμμεν ἵπποκροτον
 Σκυρωτὰν ὄξον
 (*Pyth.* v., 124-5),

sweeps between the two hills, and winds round the eastern hill towards Apollonia.

Tombs.—The oldest tombs were situated along this well-worn ancient road cut in the rock along the face of the steep escarpment—the first sites taken up being naturally the “most eligible” positions, the age of the tombs generally advancing towards the later Roman and Christian period as the distance increased from the earliest historical axis of the funerary monuments—the main avenue to the town.

Of the oldest and largest situated near the town, facing the west and overlooking the Fountain of Apollo, none of the details have survived the destructive effects of their employment for centuries as granaries, dwelling-houses, and stables. They have, in many cases, become mere caves, the façades, recesses, and apertures either hewn away, or at any rate so injured as to make any conjecture as to their details impossible. An important group of tombs remains in a better state of preservation on the eastern face of the next spur of the hill to the west, along the ancient road (Photos. 5 and 6).

The unmistakably archaic character of every feature (especially the deep bulging echinus), combined with their situation, stamp these as most interesting specimens of the very early style that we have represented in early vases (*e.g.* Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, iii. 1411, &c.). The pillars to the left of the photograph give the general effect from the front view of Ionic capitals; they are, however, merely Doric capitals, cut with a flat surface, sliced, in fact, in such a way that the section presents the general outline of an Ionic capital with the details erased. The pictures in Pacho are pure imagination.

With nothing but this group before us, one might almost imagine

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that an Ionic volute might have been evolved through a presentation to the eye of a section of one of these bulging cushion capitals, the volute with its canal and details (inspired, perhaps, by the lotus ornament,* and developed through the metal industry), being the result of a decoration adapted to the space afforded. The true Ionic capitals of Photo. 9 † seem to be the next step in the development, as far as their shattered condition allows one to conjecture their original design.



NO. 5.—ROW OF TOMBS, NORTHERN NECROPOLIS.

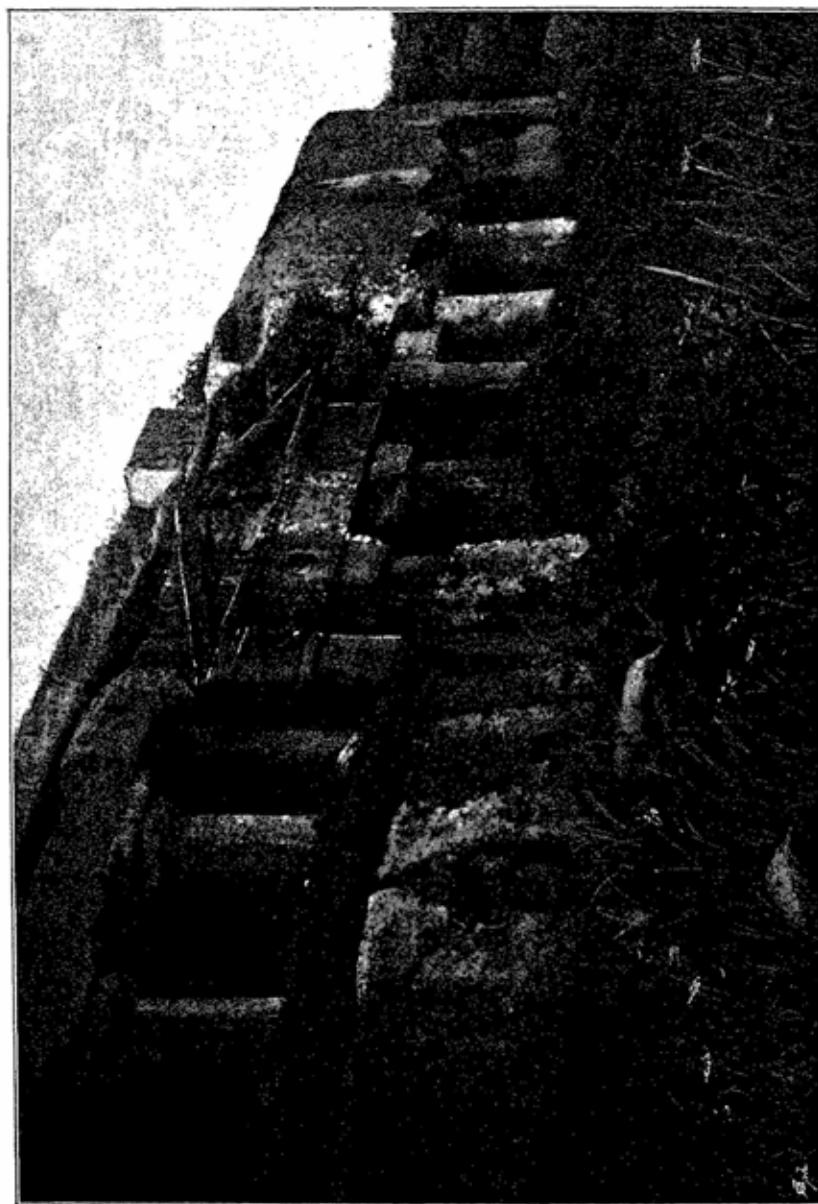
Professor Studniczka makes the following remarks on them :—

“The impression of greatest antiquity is, of course, produced by the tomb in the south-west (Photo. No. 7); but the form of the pillar with the heavy, angular ‘sattel-holz’ (capital), is much too simple to admit of our fixing a date exactly. And wherever it is possible to make comparisons between more definite and more refined artistic forms, then the north always appears to me to have more claims to older age. Thus the Doric pillars show coarse shafts and the same heavy, widely bulging form of the echinos such as we see—in order to compare only that which is nearest to it—on the Kyrene bowl

* *Vide* O. Richter, *Trans. Br. Arch.*, xviii., 1895, December 19th.

† Not reproduced in this article.

belonging to the sixth century (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii., Tf. 86;



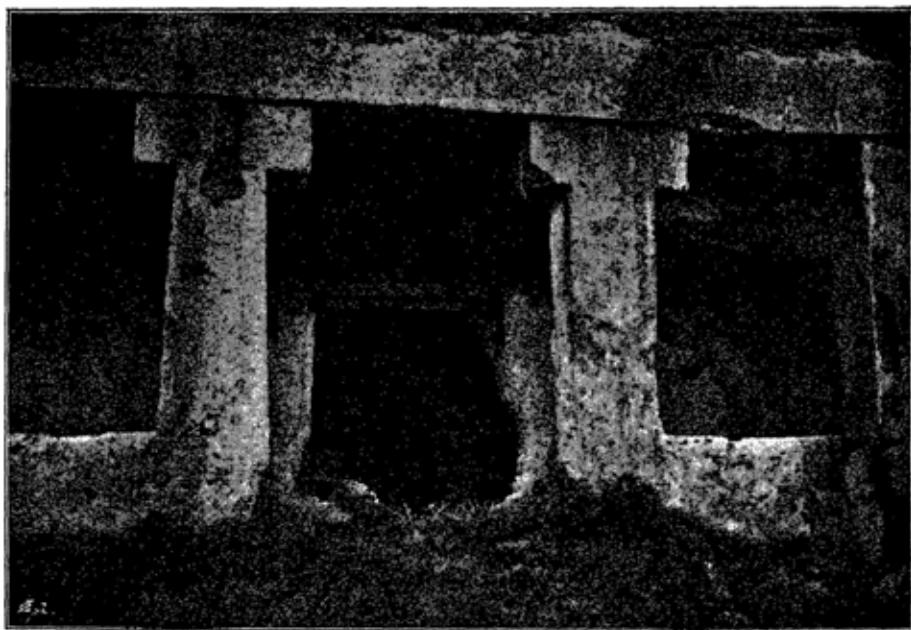
NO. 6.—NEARER VIEW OF TOMBS IN PHOTO. 5, ON THE RIGHT.

also Baumeister, *Denkm.* iii., p. 1411; as well as Daremberg-Saglio,

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Diction. d. Antiq. i., p. 527, Fig. 616). On the other hand, the rich south-western façade (Photo. No. 7) (Smith and Porcher, Tf. 37, p. 36?) has slender shafts and elegant little capitals."

On the west side of the city is a very old road with a retaining wall of wonderfully fine and massive masonry, called Wadi bi' l Ghadir. This is the very old road leading to the coast. The sites along its course are taken up with some interesting tombs. Fig. 8 gives a specimen of a rock-hewn chamber, with a portico, pediment, and three



No. 7.—TOMB IN S.W. NECROPOLIS.

pillars. Two of these are Ionic, much defaced, but the raised curve of the outer spiral at the junction under the abacus, and the drooping curve of the second spiral and general features show a much greater affinity to the Peloponnesian type (*e.g.* Phigalia, Puchstein, *Ionisch. Cap.*, Fig. 21a; better, Mauch, *Arch. Ordnu.*, Tf. 37) than to the Asia Minor types in rock-cut tombs, *e.g.* Myra, Telmessos, and Antiphellos in Lycia. (Texier, *L'Asie Mineure*, pp. 11, 169, 195, and 225, and figured, pp. 34 and 35, in Puchstein's *Das Ionische Capitell*.)

The central pillar is entirely different from the other two, and is quite an eccentricity, or rather more probably and prosaically the result of an accident, which must always be a factor in forms cut out of solid rock, where a fault in the stone or a slip of a tool may produce a new form or suggest a new idea, by making the original design impossible to complete.*

Of these, Professor Studniczka says:—

“The south-west tomb, with the two Ionic columns enclosing a



No. 8.

third, which has an extremely singular capital (Photo. 7) (Pacho, Pl. 47; much more indistinct, Smith and Porcher, p. 37), has a very archaic character; the baseless shafts are considerably tapered, the Ionic capitals seem to be of the most antique examples of Puchstein's Western-Greek type (*Das ion. Capit.*, p. 29), and the third capital is very archaic throughout. The Ionic columns and pillars,

* Compare pillar from Cyprus figured in Ceccaldi, *Monuments de Chypre*, p. 44, and De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, vol. ii., Pl. 90, 95, &c.

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however, of the long row of tombs in the north—Photos. Nos. 8 and 9—(Smith and Porcher, Tf. 16; Barth, p. 440) are even still more antique; especially the pillar façades on the left, which show the Ionic capitals, still in the oldest form of the ‘sattel-holz,’ rounded on both sides, somewhat resembling the one from the Athenian Acropolis which has only painted decorations (*Antike Denkmäler des archäol. Instituts*, I. Tf. 18, 3).

“Still, even in the north there are not a few tombs, which, owing to their meanness and other peculiarity of their forms, one would like to attribute to a much later Hellenistic age, as for instance, the two on your photo. (not figured). The small guttae recur, it is true, on the great sarcophagus-like tomb, compare Beechey, Pl. before Chapter XVI. ‘Partial View of the Tombs,’ &c., which, as a whole, reminds one very much of the old Egyptian coffins mentioned by Perrot (*Hist. de l'art*, I. p. 313); for which reason one would feel inclined to attribute it to an earlier period.”

An interesting group of tombs is found at some distance from the old sites in the great plain of Grennah, stretching away to the south; these consist of hypogean Doric courts forming an open yard surrounded with a colonnade, excavated in the level limestone, and entered from the upper surface by a descending stairway. They are the exact counterpart of those at Nea Paphos, figured in Perrot and Chipiez (vol. iii., Fig. 160, 161).

The first examination of these hypogean open courts at Nea Paphos led to a very early date being assigned to them by Hammar, Pococke, Engel, and Ross—anterior to the Greek Doric order. Sakellarios (*Tὰ Κυπριακὰ*, t. I., 104-5) assigns them to Greeks, while Cesnola confines himself to making them pre-Roman, and certainly while devoid of the massive and archaic effect of such constructions as, for instance, the tombs of Kumbet in Phrygia and Alaja in Cappadocia (Perrot, *Miss. en Galatie*, Pl. 7 and 33), and those of the tombs of Hambarkya (Hirschfeld, *Paphlagon. Graber*, Taf. II., and *Iskeleb* III.), they are not disfigured by the heaviness and clumsy ornamentation of the Græco-Roman period. Perrot maintains that none of these tombs of Nea Paphos can be older than the fifth, and even suggest the possibility, by reason of the shallowing of the architrave in proportion to the frieze, that they may be later than Alexander. He considers

them, however, of Greek in their exterior, but Phoenician in their internal arrangement and plan (vol. iii., p. 233, Engl. edit.), and they certainly are found where the population and religious rites maintained their Semitic character to a very late date.

In this connection numerous specimens of Doric tombs in Asia Minor naturally present themselves for comparison, such as that in the valley of Necoleia, figured in Texier, *Asie Min.*, pl. 60, and the so-called tomb of Jacobus. Durm held these to be of great antiquity, but Hirschfeld (*l.c.* p. 8) contests this, and while admitting their interest as "Spätlinge," denies they have any claim to originality and dubs their style as "characterlose Græcismus."*

Under the stricture of characterless or rather perverted græcism might be included the extraordinary solecisms (Pl. 8, 43, in Pacho's *Voyages dans la Marmarique*), where Ionic columns are combined with a Doric entablature with triglyphs, and Doric columns support the triple fascia of the Ionic architrave.† These and various other anomalies, such as the irregular distribution of triglyphs in reference to the axes of the columns, the proportions of the entablature, &c., show them to have been built by either a mixed race, or by designers and constructors who had borrowed their knowledge from already tainted sources, and we cannot apply to their works the strict architectural canons of the best period of Greek style.

The principal political connection of Cyrene with Cyprus was during the reign of Arcesilaus III., son of Battos "the Lame," whose consort, Pheretima, fled to Salamis from an insurrection in Cyrene. Arcesilaus himself betook himself to Samos, where he collected "men of all classes by a promise of a division of land" (*Herod.*, iv. 162-3). This took place during the reign of Cambyses (527—521 B.C.), and although such an event would not in itself perhaps be sufficient evidence on which to assume a connection between the two countries, it may be reasonably conjectured that an endeavour to obtain armed assistance from the king of Cyprus, Euelthon, would imply a previous commercial, or at any rate friendly, intercourse between Cyprus and Pentapolis.

Along the whole face of the Cliff, for more than a mile eastward from the fountain of Apollo, lie thousands of sarcophagi, so thickly

* Cp. Pottier, *Les Hypogées doriques de Nea Paphos*, *Bull. Cor. Hell.*, 1880, p. 497.

† This combination is noted also in the Paphlagonian tombs by Hirschfeld, *l.c.*

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crammed together, as in some places to give the appearance of a mountain of tombs piled one on top of the other. These are of a rigidly fixed model. They are all cut out of a solid block of very hard white nummulitic limestone. The lid is cut in such a way as to leave four vertical prominences at each angle and a square projection in the middle, the intermediate portions being carved away. They are almost exactly represented by a drawing of De Voguë, "Syrie Centrale" (Pl. 78, vol. 2), in conjunction with tombs with Ionic pillars, about forty miles inland from Latakia, in a district called Dana and Margubeia. He assigns them to about the fifth century A.D. Another specimen occurs in Pamphylia (Petersen Niemann, vol. i., p. 7) from Olbia (?). The country must have had considerable intercourse with Syria during and after the great immigration of Jews under Ptolemy, son of Lagus, at the end of the fourth century B.C., and again after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, the extent of which may be guessed from an outbreak of the Jewish population, resulting in the great massacre, it is said, of over two hundred thousand Greeks, during the reign of Trajan.

We have seen that the features of the oldest tombs betray a West Greek affinity; an affinity reflected, according to Studniczka (*Kyr.*, p. 8 *et seqq.*; cf. his comparison of the old Spartan and Cyrenian designs and technique), in the sister arts of pottery and sculpture, and contemporaneous with the early settlement from Laconia and Thera and the later immigration in the reign of Battus II.

If, again, in conformity with the historical testimony, we are justified in inferring from their position in reference to the oldest sites the later date of the Cypriot and "Egyptising" remains, we are brought at once within the range of many interesting problems as to the origin and development of Eastern elements in Cyrenian art products.

With regard to the prospects of work in this interesting country in the future, while we may look hopefully towards the present enlightened head of the Museums at Constantinople, the political situation at the present moment renders it very problematic if the requests of archæologists will be listened to, when the demands of all Europe cannot obtain a hearing. It is this indefinite postponement of further light through exhaustive research which may give an excuse for the publication of the somewhat insignificant result of a hurried journey undertaken, not so much for purposes of research as to prepare

the way for future complete investigation. It will have served its purpose if it help to keep alive the interest, and stimulate effort to open up the now perhaps most interesting and most inaccessible treasure-house of the art and life of the ancient Colonial Greeks. In the meantime, in view of the continual pillaging and destruction which is taking place, at the hands of the natives, it cannot be too strongly urged that delay means daily diminution of the chances of results, at any rate of results in the form of portable and destructible objects. Unless energetic measures are taken to save the remnants, we may have to give to archæologists, in a very literal sense, the warning of the Delphic oracle:—

"Οσ δέ κεν ἐς Διβύην πολυήρατον ὑστερον ἔλθῃ,
γὰς ἀναδαιόμενας, μετά οἵ ποκά φαμι μελήσειν.

PREHISTORIC GRAVES IN SYRA.

PREHISTORIC GRAVES IN SYRA. BY R. C. BOSANQUET.

LAST May, having to wait for a steamer at Syra, I seized the opportunity and rode out to the prehistoric necropolis on the north-east coast of the island.* The distance from the agora of Hermoupolis is only three miles on the map, but nearly an hour and a half by the mule path, which starts from the picturesque upper town and runs along a range of desolate hills, passing on the left a cave which local antiquaries call the cave of Pherekydes.

The graves are scattered over the flat top and shoulders of a headland called *Kροκιδάς*, which projects into the sea between two small inlets. Ancient walls are said to be visible on a rocky hill half a mile to the north; I had not time to visit this site, which is doubtless the one to which Clon Stephanos alludes.† I was anxious to get some information about the structure of the graves, and fortunately I was able to make a minute examination of one which had been uncovered but not completely excavated. It lies on the east shoulder of the hill, at the point where there is some depth of soil, and within a few yards of a cultivated patch. The slabs of schist which formed the roof were only a few inches below the ground-level; the cover-slab had been lifted, and lay beside the grave; in the sections I have replaced it and restored the ground-line. Only so much of the filling had been disturbed as could easily be scooped up through the opening, about 45 cm. or 18 inches square, under the cover-slab; I dug the grave out and obtained measurements. Structurally it is an oblong pit lined with dry stone walls; the upper courses of the long sides jut slightly so as to give the section the appearance of a "false arch." At the north end—the grave lies north and south—is a step formed of two stones, which my guide, who had excavated many of these graves, called *τὸ κάθισμα*, maintaining that the dead had been buried in a crouching posture. But the one example which I saw is low and narrow, and rather looks like a support for the head, in which case we must suppose

* First described by Pappadopoulos, *Rév. Arch.* 1862 p. 224 ff. He assigned the cemetery to Roman times; "on pourrait donc avec vraisemblance supposer que les exilés politiques morts dans l'île de Gyaros étaient enterrés à Syra sur le plateau qui nous occupe." A few of the vases which he obtained are in the Athens Museum, and prove, as Dümmler showed in *Ath. Mitt.* xi. p. 34 ff., that the graves belong to the Amorgos period.

† *'Επιγραφαι τῆς νήσου Σύρου.* p. 8, note 7.

a "contracted burial" like those of the New Race figured by Mr. Quibell in "Ballas" (Quaritch, 1896). Even if we admit the crouching position, it is better to regard the narrow ledge as a prop for the back. The dimensions of the grave, 1·30 m. by ·97 by ·85 (about 4 feet long, 3 feet 3 inches wide, 2 feet 10 inches deep), show that the body was not stretched out at length. In like manner the prehistoric graves excavated by Mr. Theodore Bent on Antiparos measured about 2 feet by 3 feet by 2 feet (*J. H. S.* v. 48); the dimensions of the graves seen by Dümmler on Amorgos are but little greater. "In one very small grave," says Mr. Bent, "so small that to get the remains of two people in they must have cut up the limbs, we found two skulls so tightly wedged together between the side-slabs that they could not be removed without smashing them; from this we may possibly infer that the flesh had been removed in some way before interment"—a surmise which is corroborated by the burial customs of the New Race studied by Professor Petrie and Mr. Quibell in Egypt; the graves of Ballas and of the Ægean islands may both belong to the third millennium B.C. Pappadopoulos says of the Syra necropolis, "dans aucun de ces tombeaux on n'a découvert un squelette, mais des ossements disposés avec soin; la plupart, du reste, de ces tombeaux ne pourraient pas même contenir un squelette entier, d'après les dimensions susmentionnées." He concludes that the bodies were invariably burned; one would like to have better evidence before accepting this. In the grave which I examined there were fragments of bone much decomposed, but not a particle of charcoal or other burned matter in the undisturbed filling of sandy soil. The presence of the pillow-stone points to inhumation; similar head-rests were frequent in the richer of the two cemeteries in Antiparos, and I saw another in a chambered tomb at Phylakopi in Melos. Further, I questioned several peasants who had opened graves in Syra, and none of them would admit that the bones had been burned.

One foot above the floor of the tomb, in the undisturbed stratum, was a round hand-made bowl of dull, red ware, black in the break, without ornament save for a broached pattern under its base. It stood just in the corner; that it once contained some liquid I gather from the curious way in which the soil inside was caked together. The contents of a rich grave of the period, found in Syra, and presumably on this

PREHISTORIC GRAVES IN SYRA.

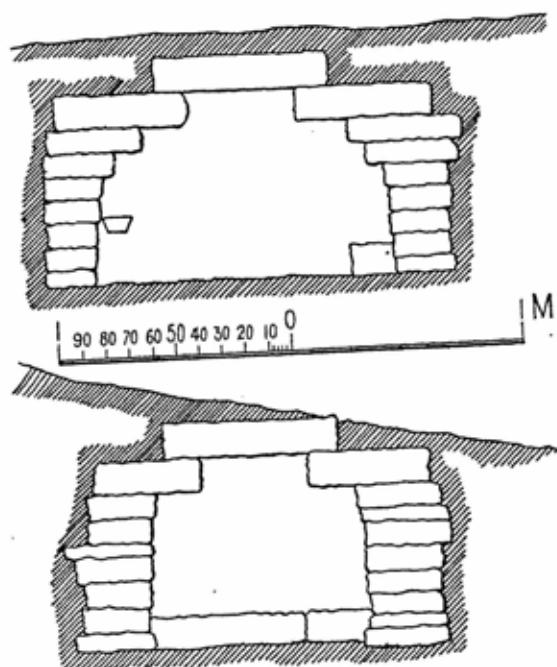
site, are given as follows by Furtwängler, who acquired them for the Berlin Museum in 1892 (*Arch. Anzeiger*, viii. p. 102).

(a) Three naked female figures of marble of the usual type, the arms crossed under the breast.

(b) Five vessels of white marble, bowls and cups.

(c) A large round earthenware box with lid; incised ornament, concentric circles connected by tangents.

(d) Rim of an earthenware pithos with similar ornament.



(e) Small covered box of talc-like stone, with linear ornament.

(f) Small bronze (or copper?) implement; short, broad, thin, like a chisel, with a nail to attach the missing handle.

I failed to find among the open graves in the Syra necropolis any round graves which Pappadopoulos describes, although he implies that the circular plan was more common than the square or oblong. They were 1·50 m. in diameter and rather less in depth, with a roof of flat slabs and a door consisting of two antae or pillars, and a third

cross-piece, the breadth of the door being 0·60 or 0·80. I was anxious to see an example of this type in order to compare the structure of its walls with that of the early well-shaft at Helleniko, in the north of the island, which I had visited earlier that morning. Some twenty years ago this well was excavated by the French consul; he was rewarded, as the peasants believe, by finding a statue of pure gold at the bottom. Drawings made on this occasion by Eleutheriades, a local architect, have been published since my visit by L. Pollak in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* (xxi., Plate iv). The masonry of the well is rougher and more irregular than the regularity of the architectural drawings indicates.

LESBOS.

LESBOS. BY W. H. D. ROUSE.

IN this paper I propose, not to give the history of Lesbos, for which the curious may consult well-known books; nor to offer new geographical details, for which I am not qualified; but merely to recount my impressions of the island, its scenery, products, and people; to mention such remains of antiquity as can still be seen there; and, finally, a few interesting relics of ancient custom which the people to this day observe.

In shape, the island resembles the claw of a crab; the two ends of which enclose a wide gulf. The space enclosed would be contained by a triangle, whose S., N.E., and N.W. sides are about 45, 30, and 25 miles respectively. A backbone of rocks runs round the curve, broadening at the two points into wide stretches of hill country, and sinking into a low and fertile plain round the Gulf of Kalloni. The southern claw itself contains a smaller gulf, that of Hiera. The range culminates in three peaks; on the west, that of the monastery Hypsilō, near Sigri; on the north, Korakas; on the south, the ancient Olympus. The last two, not to mention other heights less important (as one near Mesotopos), are crowned with a sanctuary of St. Elias. The hill country has the usual barren look of Greek scenery, but there are traces, as will be seen below, of ancient cultivation; while the lower lands are famous for their fertility. The portion between the territory of Mytilene and Methymna is covered with *pinus maritima*, and there is no indication, either in soil or in any ruined enclosure walls, that it ever was different from what it is to-day. On the hills, partridges and quails abound. The coast is chiefly cliff, and has little shelter for shipping, except for the excellent harbours of Sigri and Mytilene. The inland gulfs at first sight appear to be good for this purpose; but unfortunately they are very shallow, and beset by shifting sandbanks at the mouth. The river beds are mostly dry in summer time, but in winter there is a good deal of water; but there are a fair number of springs and wells, and the plains are quite as moist as can be wished.

The country is dotted with villages, many of them happy and prosperous, and consisting of as many as 500 houses. Mytilene is a large and wealthy town, containing many merchants. The southern

harbour is always full of shipping, and it is but seldom that no steamer can be seen in it. The peasant seems usually to own his land, but in some parts, notably the south-west, large numbers migrate for the summer to work on the mainland. The inhabitants are nearly all Greeks; but, besides the officials, there are a few villages of Turkish peasants. Turk and Greek live together in peace, except where the official comes in; at once there is petty tyranny on the one side, and hate on the other.

There is a good carriage road from Mytilene to Kalloni, and thence north to Mólivos (Methymna) and west to Sigri. Another road runs from Mytilene a few hours to the north-west, as far as Mandamádos, and from Eresos to Telónia; beyond this there is little but the usual mountain tracks, or some horrible Turkish way paved with cobbles. The carriage roads are well engineered, and the slope is never excessive.

The chief product is the olive, which grows in large plantations, mostly in the east and centre. Grapes and figs also grow freely, particularly in the low ground, about the inland gulfs. The Velonia oak, whose acorn is used for tanning, is found everywhere; and there are large patches of wild growths, such as blackberries and pine. The brambles in parts, on the north coast for example, hedge the paths, much as in England. The great pine district between Hiera and Kalloni (*the Tschamlik*) has already been mentioned. I believe that much of this is fit for growing figs. The fig grows best on a dry and rocky soil, and in Palestine I have seen just such land growing abundance of excellent fruit high up on the hills, with no depth of soil, and nothing but the detritus of the red rocks to grow in. In some parts the hillsides are crossed by the retaining walls of ancient vineyards or fig plantations; this is most noticeable in the neighbourhood of the ancient sites between Apothíki and Parákila, west of the Gulf of Kalloni. There is abundant evidence of ancient prosperity here as at other ancient sites in the island. Wine, both white and red, is made, and both are good in quality. The rich red wine has a full body, and is rather heavier than claret and more sweet. Resin wine can be had, but is not the commonest kind. In this matter, the island may be said to fairly keep up its old repute. All sorts of vegetables are grown; and the sea yields much fish. No sponges are found.

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The people are simple, hospitable, and so far as my experience goes, honest. They are specially fond of the English, and expect England to annex the island; a consummation which they devoutly wish. They seem healthy, and to a large extent live in comfort.

Ancient Remains.—Little is to be seen above ground, but there is enough to show that the island was inhabited from very early times. Examples occur of Cyclopean walls at Antissa,* Arisba, Pyrrha, Xeró-kastro, Apothiki, and Parákila (*Páleo-páti*, or the Old Wine-press). At Apothiki these walls form part of an ancient site upon raised ground. The hills rising from the shore westward have many ancient retaining walls used for holding the soil and helping cultivation. Close by is a platform, doubtless the site of some fortification, supported by a fine piece of polygonal masonry, about 50 feet long by 12 high. The acropolis of Eresos is also surrounded, near its base, by pieces of cyclopean wall. Squared blocks are found in many parts of the island; the finest examples are at Mákara, the site of a fortification, and probably of a settlement, on the heights above Apothiki. The walls of Mytilene are of later date. A few watch-towers of Hellenic masonry have left their foundations in the district of Eresos, one of them over Apothiki and another on the road to Agra, some half-hour's walk from that village. Messa has the foundations of a large temple, excavated lately by Koldewey.

Eresós.—The modern village lies a mile or two inland, and the old Acropolis is not inhabited. The Acropolis was on a steep hill, rising abruptly from the plain and descending into the sea. Round the base the walls can be traced, and there are architectural fragments both upon it and in the plain hard by. A few marble sculptures have been found here, including some tombstones, but none of importance. There is a portion of a sculptured frieze, with bulls' skulls and wreaths upon it, like that found at Eleusis; both are of Roman date. From the base of the hill the old mole runs out into the sea, joining a little rocky island. The harbour was small, as, except for the mole, the bay is exposed.†

Methymna (Molivos).—The town clusters on an isolated hill, crowned by a mediaeval fortress. Between this fortress and the sea is a wide stretch of land, the site of the old town, covered with thousands

* Koldewey, *Lesbos*, p. 20.

† Other moles exist in the island. One at Parakila, and one at Mytilene, may be mentioned.

of potsherds and pieces of earthenware. A few architectural remains have been found, but the ruin of the old town was complete.

Mytilene.—The town was built on a small peninsula, where is now the Genoese fortress. Between the town walls, which can still be traced on the rising ground to the west, and the end of the peninsula, the ground drops until it is little more than a low bank between the two harbours. In the northern harbour is the old mole; the southern is the one now chiefly used, and here new protections have been built. Between the harbours most of the public buildings and the agora must have been. The theatre can be identified with a recess in the landward hill, but nothing now remains of it except its shape, and one handsome throne of marble (now in the courtyard of the Greek cathedral), inscribed ΠοΤΑΜΩΝοΣ | ΤΩ ΛΕΣΒΩΝΑΚΤοΣ | ΠΡοΕΔΡΙΑ. The arms are carved in the shape of winged griffins, the feet are lion's paws; on each side is a tripod, wreathed with a snake, and a footstool between the feet. This Potamon was a rhetor and the tutor of the future emperor Tiberius, and in his honour was erected a monument covered with inscriptions, large portions of which are built into the walls of the fort.* The ground near the fort is full of remains. Lately, as stone was wanted for building, the workmen dug into it at random, and turned up, among other things, a number of inscriptions, some sculptured fragments, and a fine capital of peculiar type, which may be called the "Lesbian," for it is of a kind apart. One like it is figured in Koldewey's *Lesbos*, plate 16. It has two volutes much larger than the Ionic and a fan-shaped ornament between. I was unable to get a sketch of this, as it had been buried again.

The town is full of architectural remains in stone and marble, and there can be no doubt that excavation would yield good results. A large part of the ancient town is not built over, being occupied by fields and Turkish cemeteries, and we may hope that at some date not distant a more enlightened government may permit of these being attempted. There must be many inscriptions built into the castle besides those which appear; and there are undoubtedly many underground. Of those that have been found in the island (and I do not

* Pending the publication of Mr. W. R. Paton's *Lesbian Inscriptions*, this inscription may be studied in Mommsen's paper, *Das Potamon-Denkmal auf Mytilene*, *Sitzungsber. der K. pr. Akad. d. r. Wiss.*, 1895, pp. 887 ff.

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think any of importance have been overlooked) comparatively few are early enough to be of use in studying the dialect; most belong to the Alexandrine or Roman epochs.

There are some rock tombs on the road from Mytilene northwards, which are of service as showing the extent of the walls in that direction. So far, however, no important necropolis has been found, though it is of course not unlikely there may be such. There have been found a number of tombstones, with a portion of the surface sunk half an inch or so. This space was doubtless meant for a painting, as on the Sidonian tombstones in the Louvre. Small antiquities of terra-cotta turn up occasionally, with coins and gems of no mean workmanship; but, strange as it may seem, the coins offered for sale are not always above suspicion. The people like ancient gems for their own wear, and consequently they ask exorbitant prices for them.

Two peculiar classes of ancient remains may be mentioned. (1) There are a number of slabs having a *pair of votive feet* in relief, which may be seen in different parts of the island. These have been described by Conze, who gives illustrations of them. These may have been offered by pilgrims on the completion of a pilgrimage, or by travellers after a journey. It is unlikely that they are thank-offerings for the cure of disease, in which case we should expect to find other parts of the body than only the feet. (2) The other class, which would seem also to be votive, comprises slabs carved in relief or outline, with the semblance of fish, fruit, or other food. A number of these are built into the walls of the fortress, at Mytilene, and I think they are found there only. They are not unlike a dish of food. Egyptian altars sometimes have carvings of this sort on the top.*

Sanctuaries.—The whole island, like most parts of the Greek world, is full of local shrines, mostly all by themselves in a field, or out in the country. By these there is usually a spring, or a tree hung with rags, or both. Most of them are roofless, in fact mere enclosures, and they remind one of the enclosure set apart for Pan and the nymphs in an old Greek farm. It would be interesting could we come by statistics of these shrines, and see who are the saints to which they belong. The Virgin is a great favourite, and I have sometimes fancied that Παναγία

* e.g. Louvre, Egyptian section, staircase, D. 27 (696): D. 26: D. 53 with votive inscription in Greek.

might be an echo of Pan himself. The tree or bush hung with rags is, in Lesbos, very often the *agnus castus* (*λύγος*), which was sacred in ancient times. This custom of hanging rags in the hope of getting rid of sickness is common in other parts of the world.* Here we have the peculiarity that whole garments are often offered up, not rags merely. Onions are also found so hung, and even the instruments used for twining thread ; though of these last I know not the reason. Two of these local shrines deserves mention. (1) A little "pillar-box" in the street of Eresos, which contains, besides a holy picture, a piece of black and shapeless stone, oblong, worn smooth, greasy, and oily ;

in fact, something very much like an ancient *βαῖτυλος*, which looks as though oil were commonly poured over it. (2) Down by the Gulf of Hiera, not far from the Hot Springs, is a sacred tree and stone at the roadside, and twenty feet below a chapel to St. Healer ("Άγιος Θεράπης"). Bearing in mind the local fame of Asclepius in antiquity, we may suppose that this represents an ancient shrine.



CHAPEL OF "Άγιος Θεράπης", GULF OF HIERA : LESBOS.

It may also be interesting to mention that in the fortress of Mytilene is a Mahomedan shrine, where worshippers have to wrap themselves in sheepskins. This recalls the skin at Amphiaraus' holy place in Boeotia.

Of larger sanctuaries two are interesting.

1. *Mandamádos*, on the north of the island, is a large and flourishing town. Just outside is to be seen a square block of buildings, not

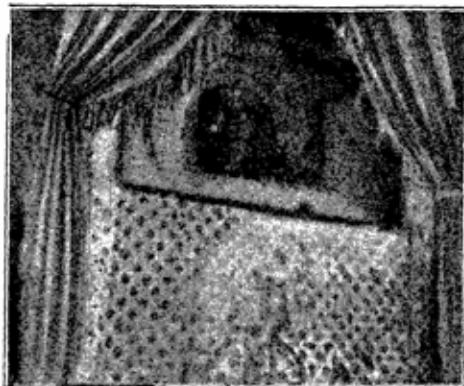
* See a complete discussion of the custom in E. S. Hartland's *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii. (Nutt).

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unlike a college quadrangle, with a church in the middle and a tower at one corner. Entering by an arched door, you see upon the wall a large picture of the Archangel Michael (*Ταξιάρχης*), thus inscribed : θεοῦ ἀρχάγγελος εἰμι, τοὺς πονηροὺς παιδεύων, τοὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς φρουρῶν καὶ συστρατεύων. The quadrangle is seen to be surrounded by cells opening upon a kind of verandah; there are two storeys, one above the other. A couple of old monks and nuns stay in charge to tend those sick folks who come out of the season; but at the great panegyris, at Easter, the whole place is full of patients.

This sanctuary is remarkable as containing an image of the archangel. It is black and hideous, said to be made of plaster, and obviously very ancient. I believe this is the only image worshipped in the Greek Church; at least, to worship images is for them heresy. This thing is kept behind a screen, just like the front of a Punch-and-Judy show; he is said to be complete (though nothing is visible but the face), and to wear out several pairs of boots annually, which the devout provide for him. He also smiles when a good Christian approaches, but frowns at the approach of the wicked; and from his expression, as seen in the photograph that I made of him, I augur the worst for my own character. He performs miracles, not only healing the sick, but going so far as to recover his own stolen plate. On the brow of the image are stuck a couple of votive coins, as coins were stuck to the statues in ancient Greece.

2. *Ayassos* (= "Αγιος" Ασσος).—But famous as is the sanctuary of the Taxiarches, that of the Virgin at Ayassos is more famous still. Her panegyris falls in the latter part of August. Before this there has been a long fast of a fortnight, during which nearly every one religiously abstains not only from meat, but from eggs, milk, cheese, butter, oil,



MANDAMÁDOS: PLASTER IMAGE OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL.

fish (except shellfish), in fact, nearly everything. On the feast day they are to taste meat once again.

Ayassos is situated on the slope of Mount Olympus. It is not an ancient site, but there was an older Ayassos some little distance off. The present site was chosen because the sacred eicon of the Virgin came down here of its own accord. The name of the place, as I am informed by a priest, comes from St. Gregory of Assos.

On the eve of the feast pilgrims throng the streets of Ayassos, flocking from all parts of the island. Not only is every house full; they

sleep in the cafés, in the streets, anywhere and everywhere; hundreds, however, intend to make a night of it with dancing and a mild carouse. The paths are lined with booths, sellers of grapes and melons, figs and cakes, toys, odds and ends, but especially meat, which is displayed in alluring lumps, stuck all over with gold leaf. Perhaps it is fanciful to suppose that there is then any reminiscence of the ancient practice of gilding the horns of the victim; but it may be mentioned that the



MEN DANCING THE SYRTOS.

horns of a victim are still sometimes gilded, and an instance occurred within the last five years, at a little *ξωκλήσι* near Kalloni, where, on the saint's day, an animal was thus treated, killed, cooked, and distributed among the worshippers.* The cafés do a roaring trade; inside there is hardly standing room. By-and-bye, as the evening goes on, the merriment waxes furious, and couples or groups begin to dance in the streets, or anywhere they can, to the doleful sound of pipe and tabor. The favourite dance is the syrtos, which is so well known as to need no description of mine; but Turkish dances are also seen, and they have more go than the Greek.

* My authority is Mr. Stavros Charidonis, schoolmaster at Kalloni.

LESBOS.

Meanwhile the church plays its part. In the afternoon is held a service, and as we step into the church the whole place is seen to be full of families that have taken up their abode here for the night. These are the sick who, like their forefathers before them, come to sleep in the sacred precincts in the hope of curing their diseases. The aisles are full of a motley crew, women and children chiefly, with their bedding, boxes, pots, and pans—for they cook their meals here too—and they sleep even on the top of the carved stalls that part the aisles from the nave.

Early in the morning the bishop performs a grand service, and as the priests in procession carry the host and the holy eicon, the people lie down on the ground before them; the priests touch the bodies with their foot, and then step over. By-and-bye they emerge at the west door, and fix the eicon high enough for all to see and low enough to kiss; the crowd then press forward and kiss it in turn. After the celebration the fast is over, and the people do their best to make up for lost time.

The church contains a large number of votive offerings—hands, legs, arms, and all conceivable parts of the body, babies, ships, donkeys, and other animals, of thin silver, offered in thanks by the sick who have been healed, or by those who have saved or recovered an animal, a ship, and so forth. When the number proves too great, a quantity are melted down (in the old fashion), and cast into a sconce or candlestick, which is hung up in the church. Sometimes sick people borrow one of these *donaria*, and apply it to the part affected, an eye to an eye, a tooth to a tooth; returning it afterwards with a fee. The church treasury contains a few interesting things, as an old vestment, with figures of saints embroidered upon it, and a cursive MS. of the Gospels, which appears to be of the sixteenth century, or thereabouts.

Folk-lore and superstitions hardly come within the scope of this paper. Those who are curious on such matters may be referred to an article by the writer in "Folk-Lore" for 1896, where are given a number of charms, stories, and old-world beliefs, which I collected in the island. I may conclude with the picture of a scarecrow house, made of leaves and branches, where the boys sit to take care of the vines. In one such, sat doubtless the lad whom Theocritus describes, whose dinner fell to the hungry fox.

Such scenes as these I have described—the sick sleeping in the

sanctuary; sacrifice at the lonely shrine; or the shepherd in his *μάνεπα* on the mountains, where one almost expects to be greeted by the divine Eumaeus himself; the homely customs of pastoral and domestic life—these give more reality to Greek literature than reams of palmary emendations. In fact, as of yore, Greece has conquered her conquerors; neither Roman nor Turk, barbarian nor Scythian, has been able to kill this immortal race; which, within the memory of men now living, has risen again out of its ashes, and we may well hope is yet destined for a great future.

W. H. D. ROUSE.



HUT FOR SCARECROW BOY: KALLONI (LESBOS).

THE CHURCHES OF MELOS.

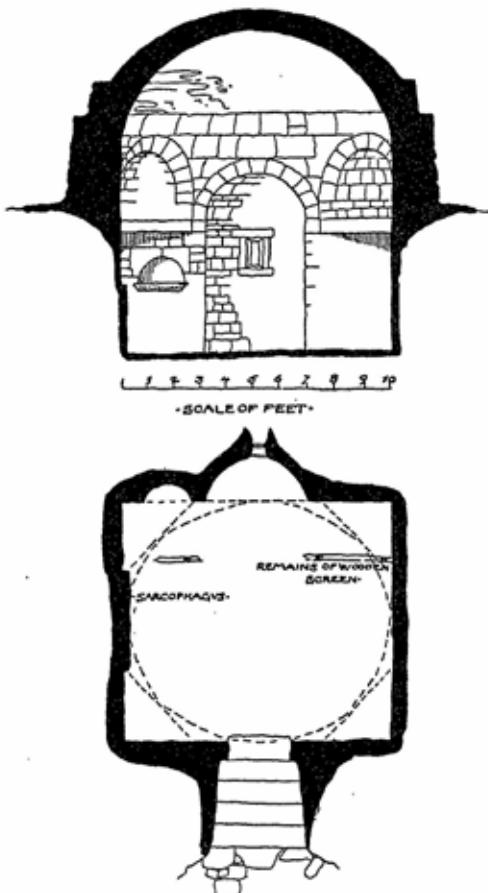
**THE CHURCHES OF MELOS. BY H. M. FLETCHER AND
S. D. KITSON.**

THE present population of Melos is collected into six or seven villages in the north-western district, all within a mile or so of the citadel of Kastro. But the whole island is dotted with small churches, some in the existing villages, some on the sites of villages which have disappeared, and others in isolated positions, used only once or twice a year as places of pilgrimage. These churches are interesting in many ways, both as showing the almost Oriental conservatism with which the Greek Church clings to its ancient methods of church-building, and because, although simple in the extreme, they yet possess certain marked differences of structure from the better-known churches of Attica and the mainland, to which, in point of design, they are often superior.

They are at once distinguished from the secular buildings of the island by the possession of a roof. The churches proper are large enough to hold a congregation, are tunnel-vaulted, with a dome in the centre, and are generally built on the highest point of the village, so that, although their vaults and domes are externally of low proportion, this mere difference of roofing serves almost as well as the spire or tower of a northern village church to make them conspicuous amid their surroundings. The chapels or shrines, which are very numerous, are much smaller than the churches, and have no domes, though the tunnel-vault still distinguishes them from the dwelling-houses.

The chief point wherein the Melian type of church differs from the Attic lies in the exterior of the dome. In the Attic churches the roof is usually flat, or, if not, it is constructed of domes so shallow as to be invisible from below. Directly from this springs a tall circular drum, surrounded by engaged columns. On these are supported arches, which cut into the dome itself. The smallness of the dome is emphasized by the large size of the tiles with which it is covered, and the general effect is that of a squat box-shaped building, on to which, as an afterthought, a spindly dome has been stuck without connection with the walls. In Melos, on the other hand, the whole church is carefully designed to lead up to the dome. The vault of the

roof leads into the square block which forms the lower part of the drum; this again leads into the octagon above it, and, lest the transition should seem too abrupt, the corners of the square are chamfered off or scooped out. Above the octagon appears the dome itself, whose outline, owing to these preparations, is usually a flattish segment of a circle. All this care gives a pleasantly harmonious look to the building; its form is compact and pyramidal; its construction is solid, being entirely of stone within and without; and its walls are snowy with whitewash, of whose blinding whiteness no idea can be formed under our northern sun. The windows are very few, and in England would seem mere chinks in the wall; nevertheless, the interiors are lighter than those of many English churches, and larger windows would only serve to let in the glare and heat.

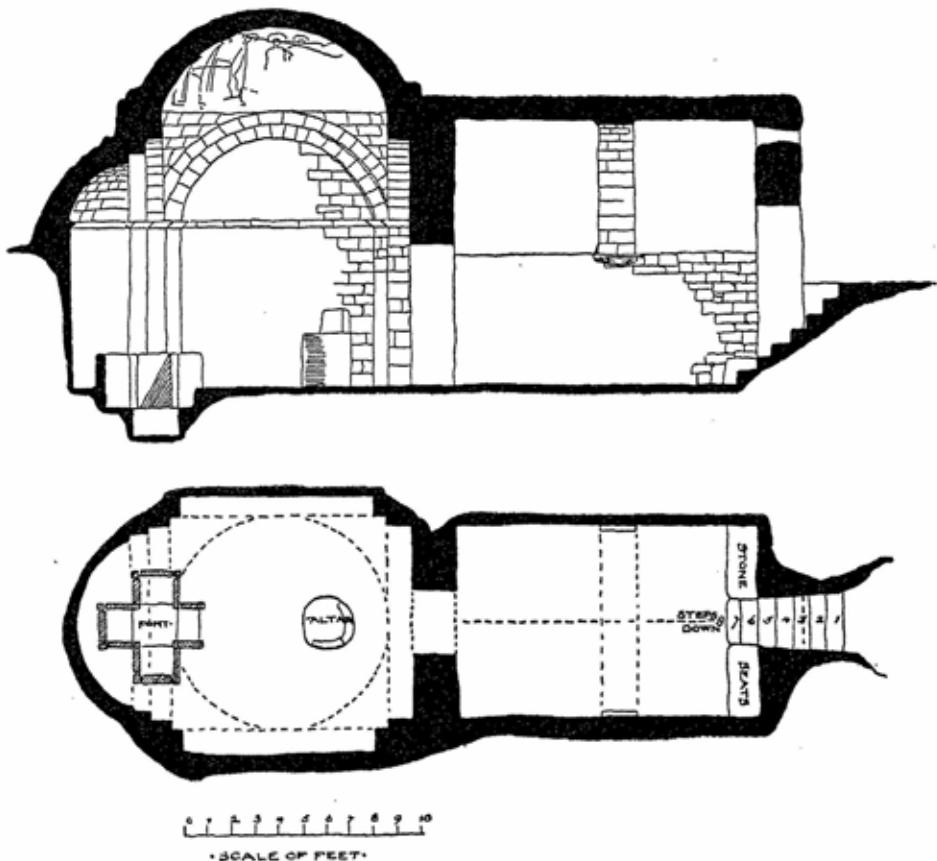


KEPOS.—THE CHURCH OF CHRISTOS.

that beyond two domes, like small limekilns, and a portion of vaulted roof, nothing is visible from the outside. It would seem that this was the original construction, though no doubt the ground has risen in the course of centuries. The entrances are low, like rabbit holes, and that

THE CHURCHES OF MELOS.

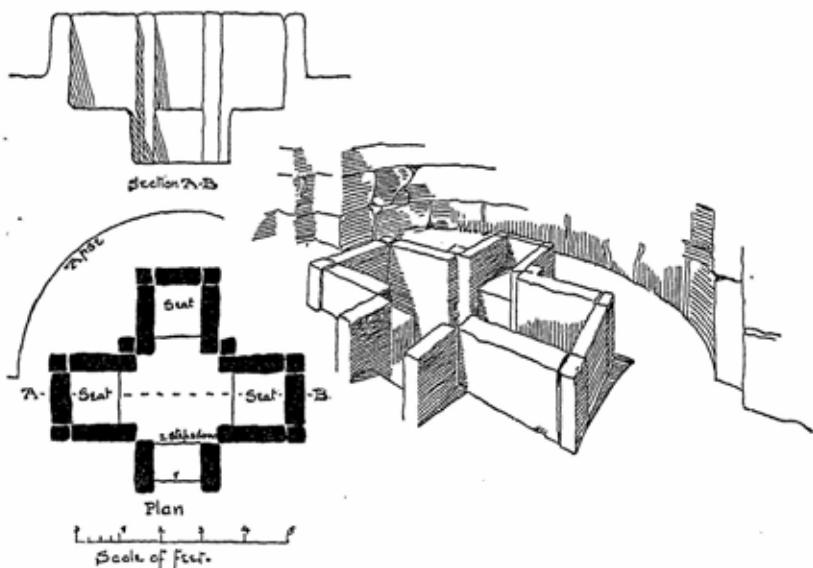
of the smaller church is hidden by a thick growth of bushes. This, the church of Christos, is of ruder construction, and probably older than the other. Six steep steps lead down to a chamber 10 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. At a height of 4 ft. 6 in. the corners are spanned by horizontal slabs, reducing the oblong to an irregular octagon, which again grows



KEPOS.—THE CHURCH OF THE PANAGIA.

into the semblance of a circle by the aid of arches springing from the slabs. Above this is a dome, flatter than a semicircle, and accommodated to the oblong shape of the church. The dome is covered with plaster, upon which no traces of painting appear. The workmanship throughout is of the most clumsy kind, and the church is a very

halting and timid experiment in domical construction. There is an apse with a small rude window, which is now below ground level. On the north side a sarcophagus or altar front of white marble is built into the wall. This consists of a fragment of entablature (frieze and bedmould), of the finest Greek work. The frieze is plain, but the enrichments of the bedmould are similar and not inferior to those on the main cornice of the Erechtheum. The builders of the church have filled the frieze with a cross and geometrical devices roughly and shallowly incised. Another fragment of the cornice has been used to



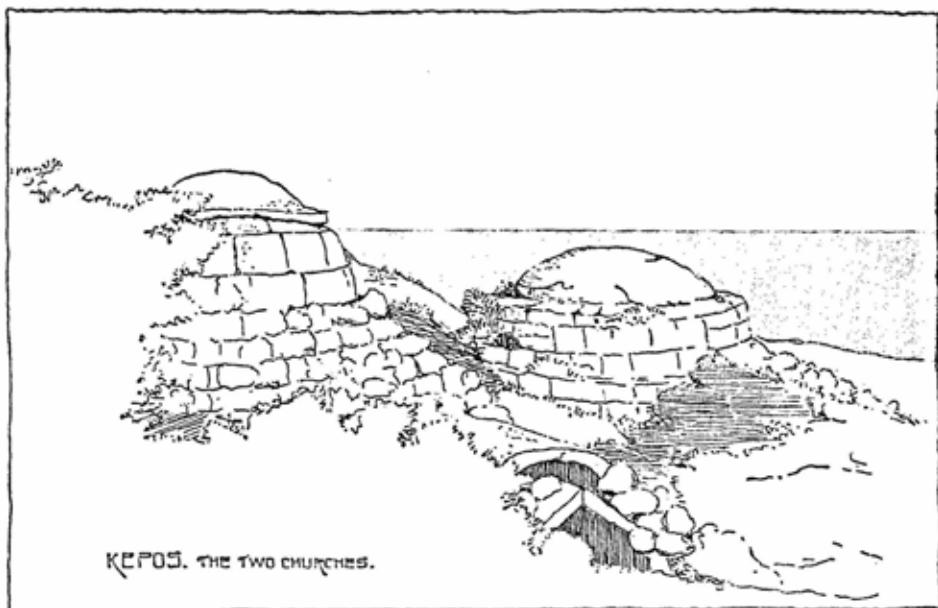
KEPOS.—THE FONT.

form the shelf of the piscina to the left of the apse. In front of the apse are fragments of the framing of a wooden screen.

The church of the Panagia lies a few paces to the north, and, like that of Christos, is built east and west. We descend through a doorway covered by two stones, sloped against each other to carry the wall above. Eight steps lead down to a tunnel-like vestibule, 8 ft. 6 in. broad by 13 ft. long, roofed by a pointed vault, and strengthened about the middle by a flat vaulting-rib. The vestibule is separated from the dome by a wall roughly built without mortar. This cross

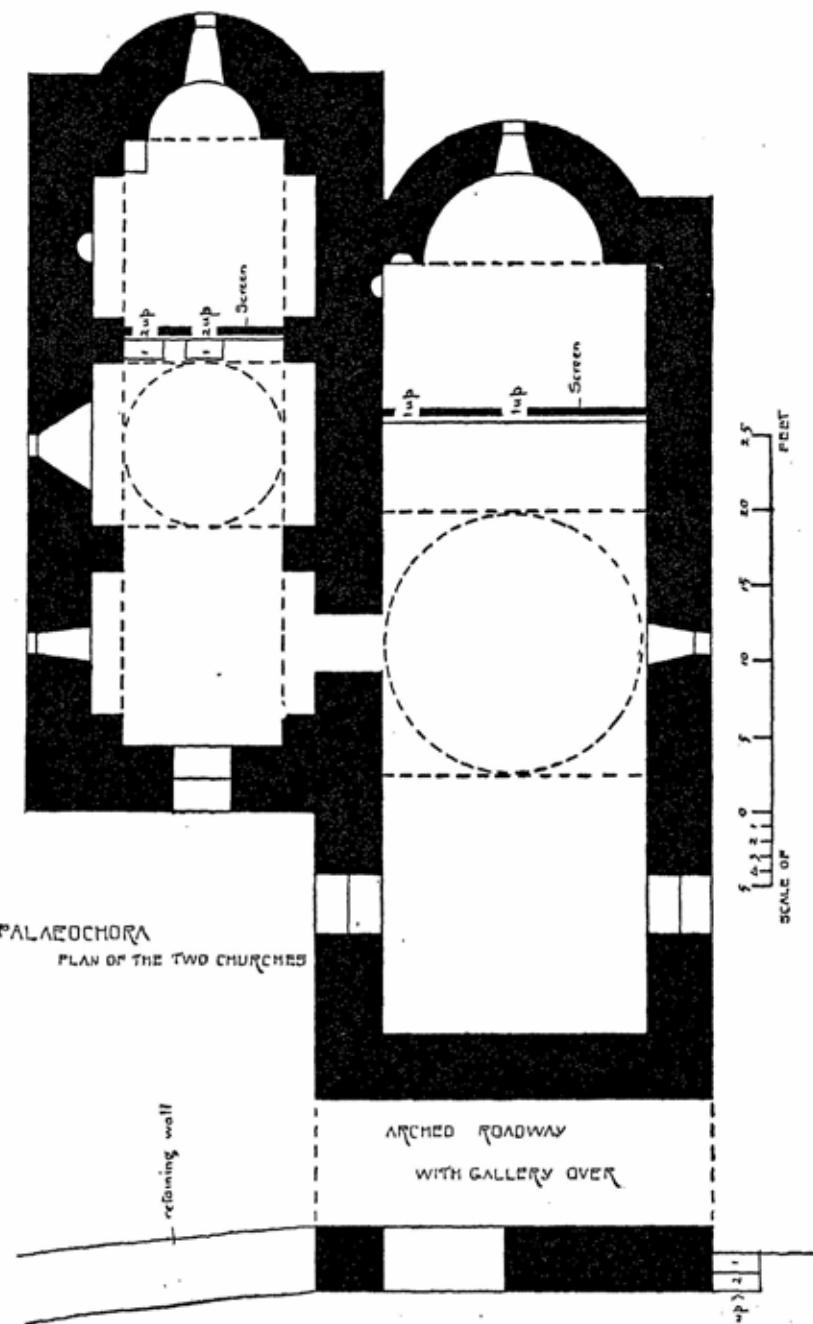
THE CHURCHES OF MELOS.

wall is not bonded in with those of the vestibule, and they are all probably of later date than the rest of the building. The dome itself shows a decided advance upon that of the church of Christos. The plan is a square, 9 ft. 6 in. each way. On all four sides are arched recesses, of which that on the west contains the door, and that on the east extends into an apse. Over these arches the change from square to round is made by the use of pendentives, whence springs a nearly semicircular dome, covered with plaster. This is painted with



KEPOS. THE TWO CHURCHES.

the head of Christ in the centre, below which are full-length representations of the Apostles, drawn in the traditional Byzantine manner. On the semi-dome of the apse is a large half-length figure of Christ. In this church the workmanship is in every way more skilful than in that of Christos, and though the stones are but roughly squared, and irregularly put together with wide joints, yet the building shows signs of greater knowledge and forethought. The ground plan is a true square, the dome is a true circle, and pendentives take the place of the primitive slab and arch construction of the lower church.



THE CHURCHES OF MELOS.

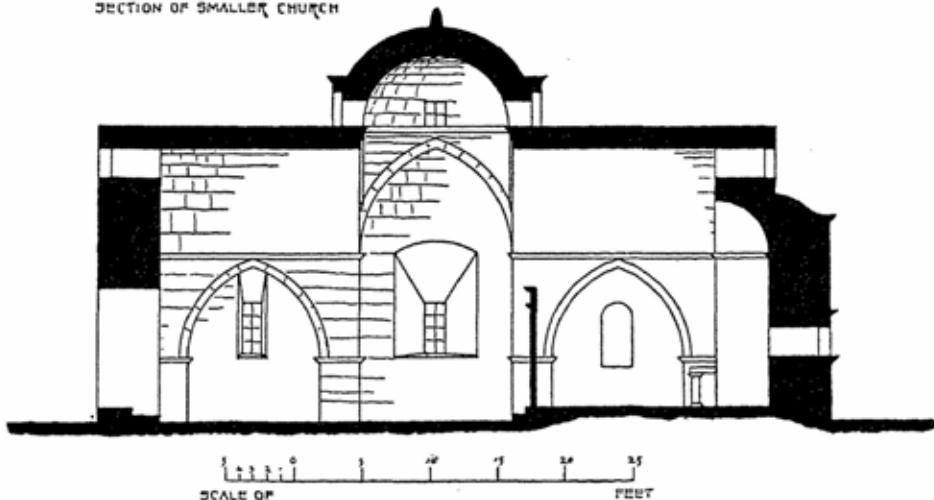
A drum of an antique column serves for altar, and has this inscription:—

+ ΑΓΙΕ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΕ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΖΕ ΗΜΩΝ.

In front of the apse is the font or *κολυμβήθρα*, which is the most curious feature of this church. It is built of slabs of red volcanic rock, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, in the form of a Greek cross. On three sides are seats, on the fourth, towards the door of the church, are two steps down, and in the middle is a well 2 ft. square. The corners are

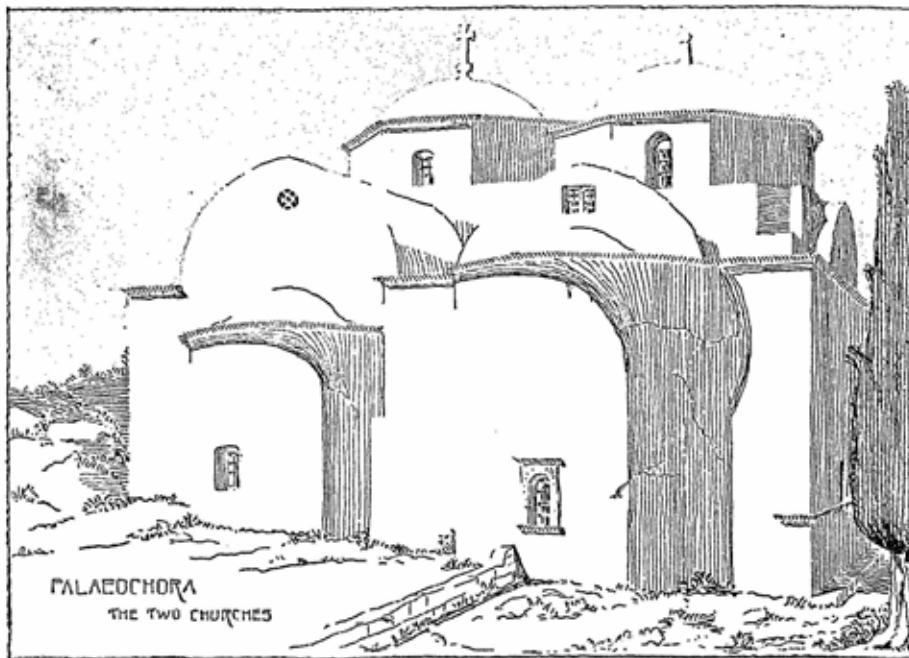
PALAEOCHORA

SECTION OF SMALLER CHURCH



strengthened by square stone posts. The floor of the well is formed of a single slab of stone, and there are no traces either of a spring or of a drain to carry off the water. On the other hand, during the excavations in the field below Trypiti, known as the Field of the Three Churches, a font of similar construction was unearthed. In this the seats were rounded at the ends instead of square, and the floor was provided with a drain-hole and gutter to carry the water off towards the east. It would be interesting to hear of such fonts in other places, whether on the islands or the mainland, as the form is certainly unusual.

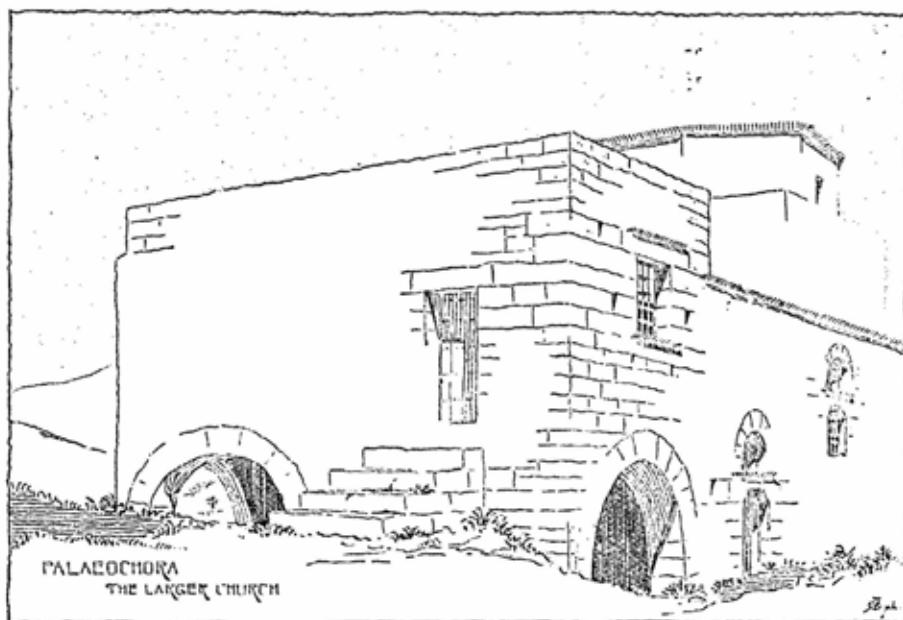
The next church, or rather pair of churches, that we come to, is that of Palaeochora. In the days when Melos was a possession of Venice, Palaeochora was the capital. It lies in the narrow part of the island, at the head of the bay, but some two or three miles from the shore. Fever has driven the inhabitants away, and nothing remains of Palaeochora but this pair of churches and some heaps of stones where the houses were. The churches, however, unlike those at Kepos, are still in use, and are kept in good repair. Whether they were built



before or during the Venetian period does not appear. In any case, there is no sign of Venetian or Italian influence in their architecture. The only dates on the building are 1645, over the door of the large church, and 1688 over that of the small, and these are misleading, because, from internal evidence, it is fairly plain that the smaller church is the older. It is built on a level, unencumbered site, with a roadway passing the door. The larger church, on the contrary, evidently added when the town had grown and the congregation had

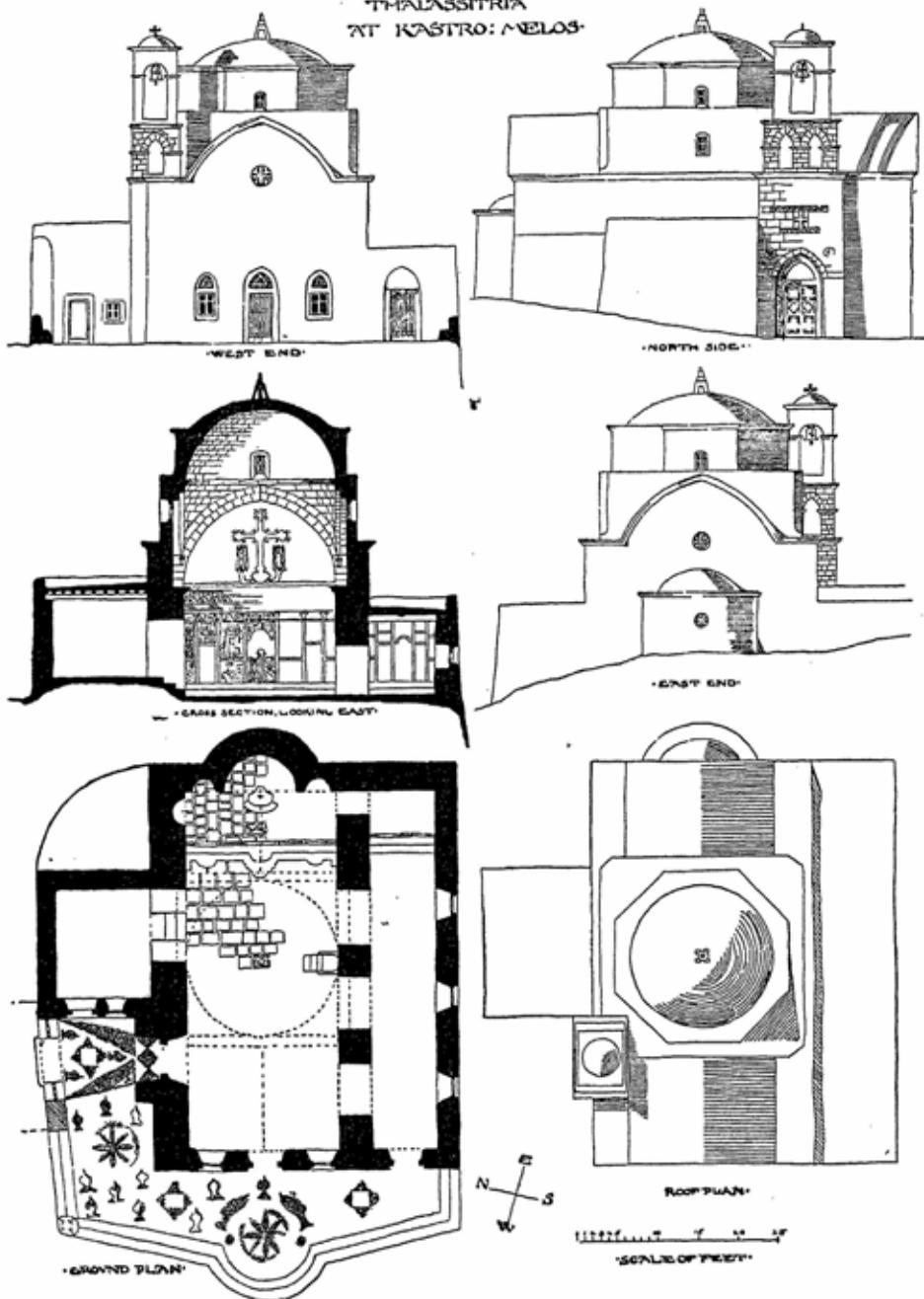
THE CHURCHES OF MELOS.

overflowed the old church, is built partly over the road, and the end of it runs into rising ground. Advantage has been taken of this to make a gallery, which is an effective feature of the interior, but it is clearly not the site to choose in building the first church of a new town. The exterior of the churches is simple, and of the type which has been described as characteristic of Melos; but the grouping of the two apses and domes is very pretty and well carried out. Of the two



interiors the smaller is decidedly the better, being, indeed, the best on the island. These Melian churches usually fail in the internal treatment of the dome, which is not in any way started from the floor, but simply hung up on pendentives above the moulding from which springs the main vault of the nave. This cuts the church disagreeably into an upper and a lower part, having no connexion with each other. Here, however, the arched recess brings down the lines of the dome into the body of the church, and, by being higher than the recesses on each side, gives it sufficient prominence as the central feature. In the larger church the interior is less interesting, as it suffers from the

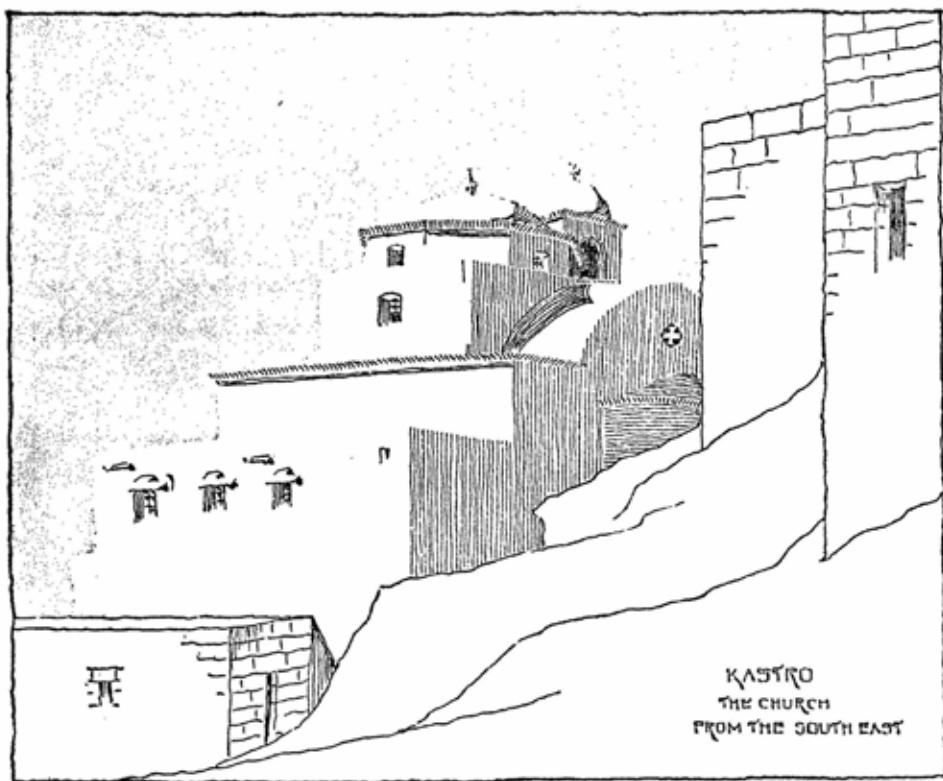
THE CHURCH OF PANAGIA
THALASSITRIA
AT KASTRO: MELOS.



THE CHURCHES OF MELOS.

usual fault of the hung-up dome. The gallery, however, finishes the west end well. It is reached by a door from the outside, seen in the sketch, and looks into the church through a bold semicircular arch, springing direct from the gallery front, and spanning the whole width of the nave.

The village of Kastro is at the north-west end of the island, and,



owing to its steep and lofty position, would seem the natural point of refuge for the inhabitants at the period of the Venetian and Turkish struggles. The church here has three dates inscribed upon it, namely, 1552 over the west door of the south aisle, 1667 over the north door, and 1855 on the belfry tower. On the lintel of the same door, which contains the first-mentioned date, are also carved the arms of John

VIII. (Crispus), last Duke of Naxos, and his initials, J. C., together with the day of the month, December 13, which probably was the time of the dedication of the church. The building is of yellowish volcanic stone, and the whole is whitewashed externally, except a part of the belfry tower, where some carved bands of ornament, a cross in relief, and the date 1855 occur. Internally, the nave is 18 ft. 6 in. wide by 43 ft. long, and access is gained to the south aisle by low pointed arches, springing direct from the floor of the church. This aisle is 8 ft. 4 in. wide, and runs the whole length of the church, and part of it at the east end is divided off by a wooden screen. The nave is roofed by a pointed tunnel vault, by which, in the centre of the building, the dome is carried. The lateral arches carrying the dome are recessed only above the springing. The dome itself is carefully constructed of 17 courses of stone, graduating systematically towards the top, where a cross is painted in scarlet, surrounded by a circle of ornament. At the top of the dome externally is a stone socket containing the stump of a flagstaff. The screen, which is raised above the floor-level of the nave by three steps, is of wood, coarsely carved, coloured and gilt, and has painted representations of saints in its panels. Above these is a large rood-cross, which is flanked by two figures in niches. In the sanctuary, the altar is placed in front of the apse, and is made from the drum of an ancient marble column. In front of the screen on the south side is a shrine of the Virgin, containing a picture richly decorated with metal. A wooden seat for the bishop occupies the centre of the south wall of the nave, and a large brass candelabrum hangs from the vault, very fancifully decorated with birds, figures, cherubs, and roses, worked in the same metal. Below this hangs a great globe of glass. Round the west and part of the north side of the church there is a small temenos or courtyard, enclosed by a wall with stone seats running round it, and entered from the lane by a round-arched gateway. A roof stretches from this gateway to the house opposite, forming a sort of lych-gate. The courtyard is paved with pebbles, brown and grey, which are laid in geometrical patterns, interspersed with the forms of trees and fishes. At the church in the neighbouring village of Trio Vasálo, a similar pavement had just been finished, and was shown to us with much pride by the priest. Among other devices it contained animals, clocks,

THE CHURCHES OF MELOS.

workmen's tools, sailing-ships, and steamers, all conventionalized to suit the material in which they were worked. The church of Agia Marina lies on the north slope of Mount Elias, and forms the centre of a square, which is surrounded by the cloisters of a now deserted convent. As usual, it is entirely built of and roofed with stone, and is whitewashed externally. There are no aisles, and a dome rises in the centre from an octagonal drum; the angles of the square below are not, as at Kastro, cut off with a flat chamfer, but are scooped out into a semicircle. A small circular window at the east end is formed of a



THE CHURCH OF AGIA MARINA.

slab of stone, pierced in the shape of a cross, and is unglazed. A slit in the wall of the north side carries the rainwater from the roof into a stone trough set in the face of the wall. The small and quite simple cloisters show the same arrangement as at the Monastery of Mendéli, near Athens, and their flat roof forms the walk in front of the cells above.

Such are some of the more interesting churches of Melos. The chapels, or shrines, are countless, and, as a rule, of small interest. Some, however, are worth a visit, such as one in the descent from Trypiti to Klima, near the mouth of the caves of Trypiti. This contains a small picture of the Virgin, graceful and dignified beyond the wont of Byzantine painting. The blue of the robe and the folds of the drapery are really well and broadly treated. Others are interesting from the beauty of their situation, such as that in the little bay on the

north of the island, where the telegraph-cable runs into the sea; or that on the summit of the ancient acropolis. This and others might prove, if carefully examined, to have valuable inscriptions or fragments of old Greek work built in and hidden under the whitewash of centuries. The chapel in the cemetery is one of the best in design, and often and often, even where there is no other interest in the shrine, the gleam of its whitewashed walls gives point to an otherwise bare and stony landscape. And small and unassuming as these churches and chapels may seem, yet they one and all possess two qualities which make them more deserving of study than many far more famous and far more ambitious buildings; and those qualities are fitness and charm.

CRUCIFORM FONTS IN THE GREEK ISLANDS.

Notes by R. C. Bosanquet.

1. In Paros, in a side chapel of the curious church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates (Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 378; Ross, *Reisen auf den Gr. Inseln*, i., p. 46).

2. In Melos, at Kepos on the almost uninhabited south side of the island. Unknown before our visit. Tournefort (*Voyage du Levant*, i., p. 60), in 1718, mentions "Notre-Dame du Jardin—Παναγία Κήρο" as one of the thirteen monasteries of Melos.

3. In Melos, on the "Three Churches" plateau above the theatre of the ancient town. Brought to light by the British School excavations of 1896. (See Mr. MacKenzie's article and Mr. Clark's plan in the forthcoming number of the *Hellenic Journal*.) This font and the church to the north of it, from the forgotten foundations of which we obtained such a harvest of statues and inscriptions, were standing above ground as late as 1825, when Prokesch Osten saw them (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, i., p. 537). The "cave-like" appearance which he notes implies that this little church, like those at Kepos, was then half buried in accumulated soil.

There is some reason to think that this type of font is very ancient. The church at Paros is said to have been founded by St. Helena. At Kepos we have signs of early work in the lettering of the invocation to St. Theodore inscribed on the marble ambo (published by Mr. Cecil Smith in the *Hellenic Journal*) and in a square marble pillar lying in one of the chapels, which resembles the marble posts of the *cancelli* in the fifth century church at Olympia. In the case of the church above the theatre at Melos, the wholesale destruction and mutilation of statues, one of which was sanctified with the sign of the cross before being sunk with the rest in the foundations, may fairly be considered to point to the same early period; it is not far from the fourth-century catacombs.

A baptistery in the form of a Greek cross is mentioned in Petersen's *Reisen in Lykien*, p. 38 *ff.*, but I do not know of other instances in which the basin, as opposed to the building, has this form. A passage in Isidore of Seville, *De eccl. officiis*, ii., 25, 4 (quoted by D. V. Schultze in his *Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst*), points to a similar arrangement of the steps: "(fons) cuius septem gradus sunt: tres in descensu . . . , tres alii in ascensu," the floor of the font counting as the seventh step.

The font which stood in the open-air on the "Three Churches" plateau must have been supplied with water artificially; the Kepos font, on the other hand, may have been built over a natural spring. There is a tradition that it was formerly supplied by a natural source, and that this *dýlaoupa* dried up when a woman of impure life presented herself for baptism. A shepherd told me that after heavy rains he had seen water welling up into the basin.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS. BY ARTHUR J. EVANS.

With a General Plan by John L. Myres. (PLATE V.)

IT may safely be said that of no prehistoric city on Hellenic soil are such extensive remains extant above ground as of the Cretan Goulas. The walls, indeed, are not so massive as those of Tiryns, there is no single monument to fix the attention like the Lions' Gate at Mycenæ, nor has excavation as yet done anything to add to what meets the eye on the surface of the earth. But for the mass of primeval ruins, the still-standing remains of individual dwelling-houses, the number of distinct quarters within the walls and the area they occupy, Goulas is without a rival. Its site, moreover, with its twin citadel peaks—the northern one looking down over a thousand feet sheer to the valley below—is more commanding than that of any sister city.

The existence of considerable ruins on this site, which lies in the ancient Dictæan region of Crete and the present province of Mirabello, was first made known by Spratt, who published some account of it* in his "Travels." Owing to a fancied resemblance of name, Spratt identifies Goulas with the ancient Olous,† the name of which is really preserved in that of the village of Eluda, or Elunta, on the lagoon of Spinalonga. More recently the remains have been observed by Professor Halbherr,‡ and, following him, Dr. Lucio Mariani and Dr. Antonio Taramelli. In the *Antichità Cretesi*, published by Dr. Mariani in 1896, is inserted § a detailed account of the remains of Goulas by Dr. Taramelli, containing many valuable details and illustrated by some very good reproductions of photographs.

My own observations of the site of Goulas have been the result of three successive visits in 1894 || and the two following years, and on each occasion I was able to spend several days in exploring this almost inexhaustible maze of ruins. The principal discovery made by me on my first visit was the existence, in addition to the citadel

* *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. i. p. 129 *segg.*

† Spratt also identified it with Olerus (Messeleri).

‡ See his *Researches in Crete*, No. VI., *Antiquary*, 1893, p. 198.

§ P. 106 *segg.*

|| "Archæological Discoveries in Crete," *Times*, August 29, 1894; *Cretan Pictographs, &c.*, 1895, p. 8 [277].

height to the north mentioned by Spratt, of a second Akropolis to the South of the intervening hollow, and on the summit the remains of a very interesting building with a *megaron* recalling some of those of the Sixth or Mycenæan City of Troy. In my next visit (1895), I was accompanied by Mr. J. L. Myres, and in the general plan opposite p. 194, which gives the first detailed view of Goulàs as a whole, he has embodied the result of our joint labours.* It must here be said that, from the vast masses of limestone blocks which encumber the ground, the tangled growth of brush-wood in their crevices, and the steepness of part of the site, the planning and measurement of the remains is a work of extraordinary difficulty, nor can anything more than approximate accuracy be claimed for the general result.†

Professor Halbherr,‡ and following him Dr. Lucio Mariani, identified the ancient city with the "inland Latò," Λατώ μεσόγεος, as opposed to the Λατώ πρὸς Καμάρα, which is unquestionably the neighbouring seaport of Hagios Nikolaos. During my last visit to Goulàs I traced an ancient causeway in the direction of this port, which may safely be said to have been the haven of the prehistoric city. The only difficulty, indeed, in identifying Goulàs with the "inland Latò" of classical times is the almost total absence on the site of any relics of the historic period. The very extent to which the primitive walls and houses have been preserved indicates an early desertion of the site. Such later relics as have been found, such as a deposit of terra-cotta figures near the Mirabello road, have almost exclusively occurred outside the ancient walls. Some later Greek fragments, including part of an archaic terra-cotta male figure, have also come to light

* Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. i. p. 129, gives what professes to be a general plan of Goulàs on a small scale, and with only a few indications of the walls and buildings. He has, however, fallen into a curious error, having apparently put in part of his details with the map turned one way up and part the other way, so that what he calls the "Temple of Britomartis" is placed under the wrong akropolis, and the road to Kritsà shifted from S.W. to N.E., and the plain of Lakonia *vice versa*!

† The lower terraces of the North Akropolis, and the remains in the hollow and about the Port gate, were almost exclusively Mr. Myres' work. For the approach to the North Akropolis, its entrance quarter, of which a separate plan is given in Fig. 2, the "Agora," and the uppermost terraces of this Akropolis, I am mainly responsible. For the rest of the work, as, for instance, the South Akropolis, the responsibility must be shared. The different sections were put together by Mr. Myres. The separate plans given in the text are my work.

‡ *Antiquary*, 1893, p. 198. Professor Halbherr, however, admits that he saw scarcely any remains at Goulàs later than prehistoric times, and adds, "Probably the site was abandoned in favour of lower ground."

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

near the little church of Hagios Andonis (Antonios, with a touch of Adonis), which lies just on the north-western outskirts of the prehistoric town. The small copper coins of Latō, abundant in some of the neighbouring valleys, seem to be totally absent on the Goulas heights.

Goulas, then, was deserted in the days when the historic Latō flourished, and had it shared its name with the harbour town it would surely at least have been referred to as Old Latō. But, as a matter of fact, the inland Latō of classical times seems to have been a centre of habitation not inferior in importance to the harbour town. Both appear as equal parties in a treaty with Teos, and both transact common business in a temple of Eilevthyia, which must have lain between the two. With the evidence before us it seems impossible to identify the "Cyclopean" ruin-field of Goulas with a city still flourishing as late at least as the third century before our era.

On the other hand, considering the vast mass of primeval ruins which here confront us, as well as its contiguity to the main line of communication which binds Diktæan and Central Crete, it seems to me that an actual reference to this ancient city may be traced in a record preserved by Diodōros. Diodōros, who follows a native Cretan authority, relates the tradition that Zeus, "being grown to man's estate, built a city on Dikta, in which, according to the legend, was also his birthplace. In later times this was deserted, but the ruins of the foundations remain to this day."*

It is to be observed that the mythical tradition is here distinguished from the basis of solid fact upon which, in the opinion of Diodōros' informant, it rested—existing traces, namely, of a mighty prehistoric city which took its name from the mountain. This record is well explained by the imposing ruins of Goulas rising on what may be described as an outlying spur of Dikta. From their position near a main line of communication, these "Cyclopean" walls may well have impressed the minds of ancient travellers. A direct connexion, moreover, with the legendary birth-place of Zeus is, as we shall see, supplied by the line of a fortified road of Mycenæan date

* Diod. lib. v. c. 70, 6: Ἀιδρωθίντα δ' αὐτόν φασι πρῶτον πόλεις κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενισθαι μυθολογοῦσιν. ής ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ εὖν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελιών.

leading from the neighbourhood of Gouliàs across the intervening range to the upland plain; immediately above which, by the village of Psychrò, opens the great Diktæan Cave, with the rich votive deposits left by its votaries.

The commanding position of the site and the part fulfilled by this fenced city of the twin peaks in the economy of "Minoan" Crete is easily realised from the north Akropolis height. To the west and south-west rise the snowy crests of Lasethi, the culminating points of the ancient Dikta, and along the steep below, which faces their nearer flanks, runs the main high-road which threads the province of Mirabello, and forms the inevitable line of communication, on the whole northern side of the island, between Eastern and Central Crete. This road in the main corresponds with a very ancient way, the "Cyclopean" supporting walls of which and flanking strongholds are very visible at the col of Pepóni Khani, about an hour farther on the Mirabello road. Similar fortified ways traverse the heights to the upland plains of Katharo and Lasethi, and to Kroustas, making for more distant Mycenæan strongholds in the heart of Dikta; and above the glen which debouches on the rich valley of Krítsa is seen a distant glimpse of the rock-set "Cyclopean" watch-station on the ancient Lasethi road-line now known as Katzouli Tzi Kisterna, the Kitten's Cistern. The general outline of the surrounding country will be best seen from the accompanying panoramic sketch by Mr. Myres (Fig. 1).

The nearest inhabited centre in the neighbourhood of Gouliàs is the village of Krítsa, said to be the largest in Crete, which lies beneath a line of limestone cliffs (see Panorama) looking due east over its well-watered valley. The occurrence here of some foundations older than the shells of its Venetian houses or its Byzantine churches, and the existence of two late Greek sepulchral inscriptions outside the monastic church of Hagiò Pnevma, afford some grounds for believing that the village occupies the site of a more ancient settlement. The frequent discovery in the fields about of coins of Latò suggest the possibility that the inland town of that name occupied this site.

Approaching Gouliàs from Krítsa by the Mirabello (Neapolis) road, about twenty minutes distant from the village, an ancient causeway is struck which leads transversely up the slope of the hill to a point

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

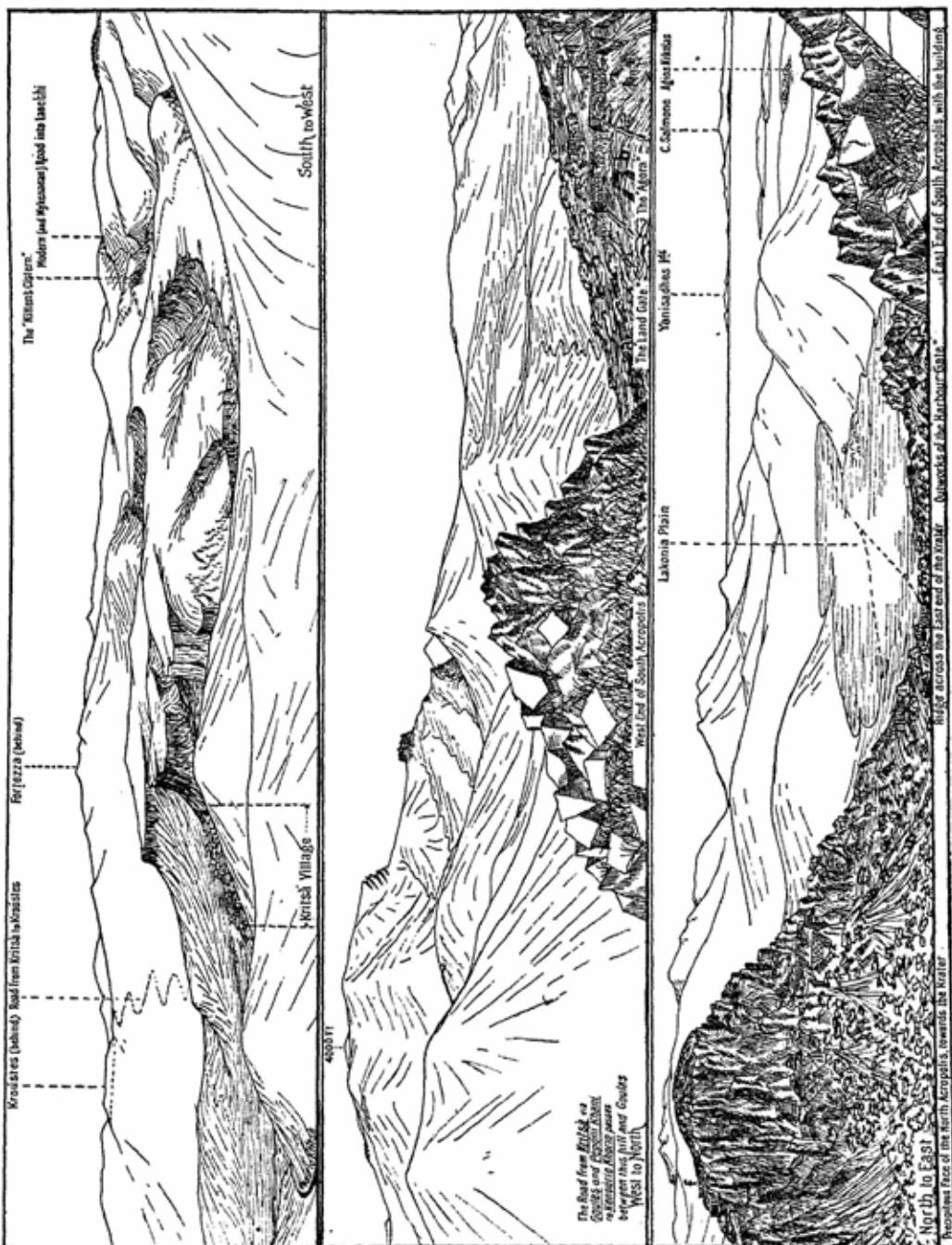


FIG. 1.

between the two peaks which form the two citadels of the ancient city. The old causeway, like so many of the ancient roads, forms a kind of terrace on the hillside, being supported below by large roughly polygonal blocks, while, in places, it was commanded by a similar wall above.

Before reaching the gap between the two peaks the road already passes through a small quarter of the town, from the lower part of which rock-cut stairs are traceable, abutting on the road a little before the main city gate on this side. This gate, the opening of which is 1.73 m. (about 6 ft. 1 in.) wide, shows just within it on the right two small oblong compartments, which seem to correspond with the two sentry boxes within the Lions' Gate at Mycenæ, though the arrangement is here different.

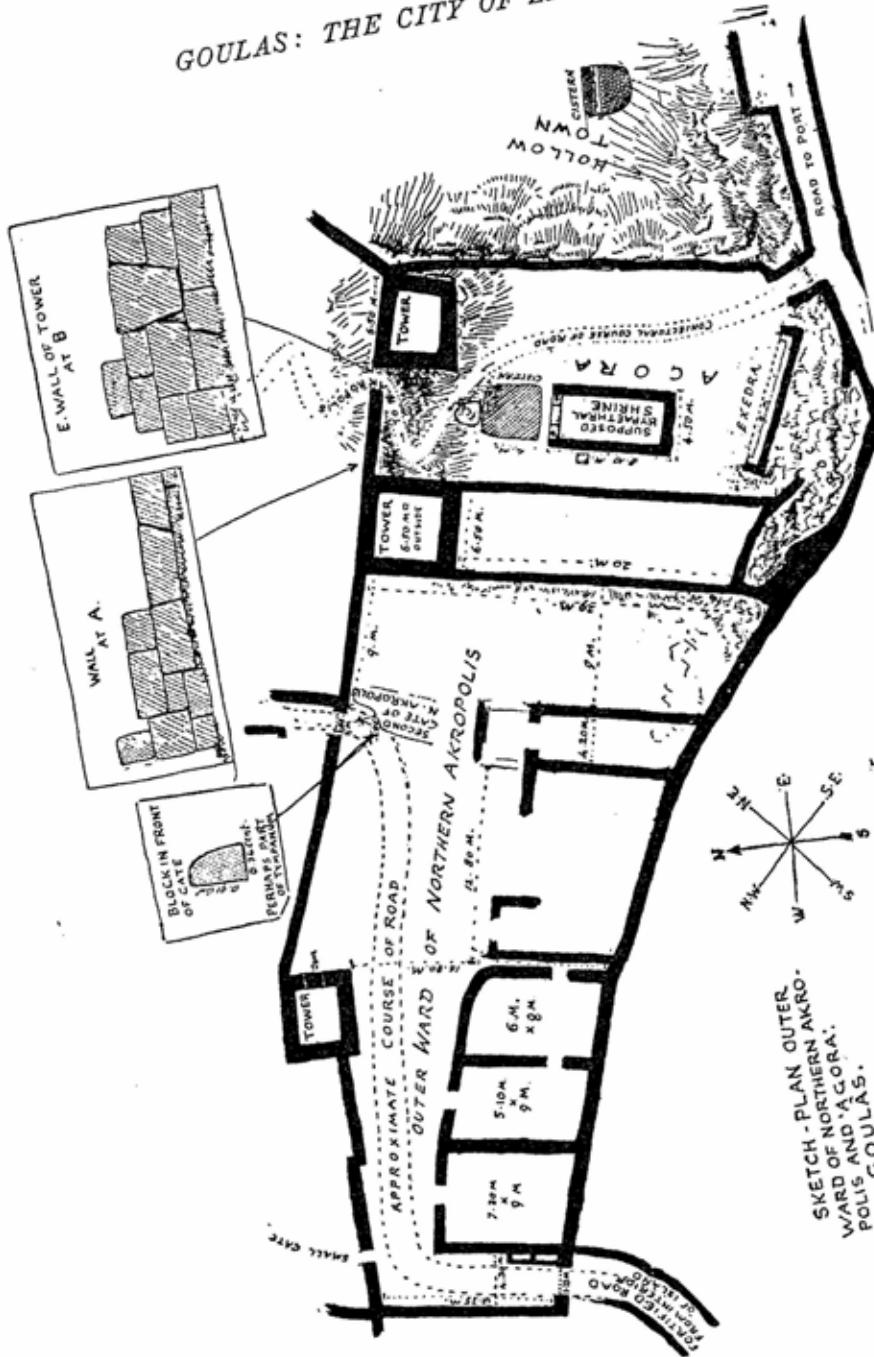
We thus enter what may be described as the western outer ward of the Northern Acropolis (A in General Plan), itself divided by a partition wall from an adjoining enclosure (B), which communicates with the road that leads to the port, as this with the inland line. (See special plan, Fig. 2.)

This inland road, after entering the Western Ward, passes, almost opposite the gate, a smaller door, and turning sharply to the right past a massive tower of oblong section and a series of magazines or guardhouses, enters the Northern Acropolis itself by a second gate 1.68 m. (5 ft. 6 in.) in width. From the remains of a massive lintel (6 ft. 3 in. in length) and a sub-triangular block, this gate seems to have been provided with a tympanum of the usual Mycenæan style, but there was no trace of sculpture.

The parallel enclosure (B in General Plan) to the west of the entrance ward described is on a slightly higher platform of rock, and exhibits very different features from the other. It opens at its south-eastern corner on to the Port Road, and near its entrance I observed another sub-triangular slab (3 ft. 2 in. high by 2 ft. 8 in. wide), which also seems to have been derived from a Mycenæan tympanum. This, however, was not a city gate in the same sense as that of the Western Ward, since the Port Road itself (D D D on General Plan) has already passed through a whole quarter of the city before reaching this point, and the true Sea Gate is to be found much farther to the south-east.

This eastern enclosure, in which the traveller arriving from the port

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.



SKETCH - PLAN OUTER
WARD OF NORTHERN AKRO-
POLIS AND AGORA.
GOULAS.

24

thus found himself, is on three sides rectangular, but the wall at its southern end follows the irregular outline of a reef of limestone rocks. The size of the enclosure it is true is not large, being no more than about 30 by 20 metres, or 100 by 66 feet; yet it is one of the few fairly level places in the whole of Goulas, and seems to have been a principal centre of the civic life and cult. It is the middle point of the city, and the pivot, as it were, on which the whole turns. It forms a kind of neutral ground between the three chief quarters into which the town was divided. It seems, as we shall see, to have centred in a shrine, and as such might be regarded as a temenos; but it is at the same time so obviously the central gathering point of the city, that I do not hesitate to give it, at least provisionally, the name of *Agora*. Above the two massive towers which crown its upper end mounts the ridge of the Northern Akropolis. Beneath its eastern flank opens out a crater-like hollow containing many ancient foundations, which also formed a distinct quarter; while to the south rise the precipitous heights of another citadel. Below these heights and immediately overlooking the central enclosure in which we now are, is a terrace wall of roughly horizontal structure, the uppermost layer of which projects so as to form a kind of parapet.*

This terrace-wall supports the emplacement of a building (C on general plan) constructed with exceptionally square-cut blocks, showing on its inner walls a cemented surface, originally coated with painted stucco, some blue-coloured fragments of which are still adhering. This seems to be the building which Spratt, who identified Goulas with Olous, took to be the Temple of Britomartis. It consists of an oblong foundation with two unequal chambers and connected with this a long narrow compartment, and in its general plan shows analogies to many dwelling-houses scattered about the ancient city. It must probably be regarded as a house rather than a temple—and, in that case, would have belonged to some person of importance.

On entering the "Agora" just below this "temple" terrace, by the entrance from the Port Road already described, there are visible to the left the remains of a recessed stone seat or *exedra*, about 9 m. in breadth. Its farther side is cut out of the rock and shows a small semi-circular niche. Beyond this the eastern border of the enclosure is

* This is seen in the background of the sketch of the hypothral shrine. Fig. 3, p. 177.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

occupied by what originally seems to have been a long hall or portico, 20 m. by 6·50 m., overlooked at its northern end by a massive square tower.

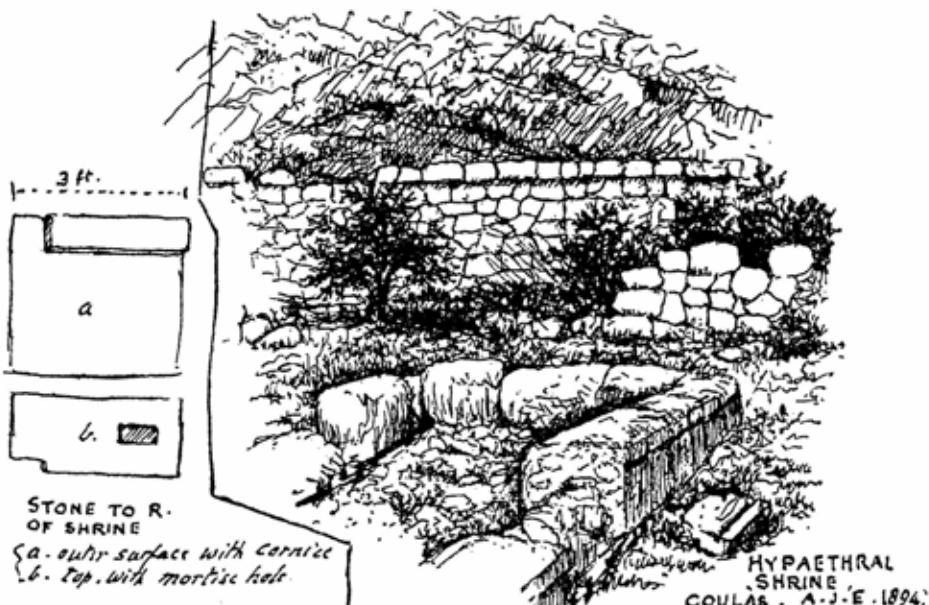


FIG. 3.

But the central object of interest within the Agora is a small oblong building, 8·10 by 4·50 m. in external measurement, with walls which seem to have been never more than breast-high, consisting of two tiers of large blocks, the upper of which shows externally a projecting border, thus recalling on a smaller scale the parapet of the terrace wall. The entrance of this small enclosure has mortised slabs for the insertion of jambs on either side, and must have consisted of a doorway higher than the walls themselves,* which may, therefore, have served some sacral purpose. Immediately in front of this is a large cistern or

* There also lies just outside the west wall of the building a stone with the usual border continued three-quarters of its face, and on its upper surface (3 ft. by 1½) a mortise hole. (See sketch in Fig. 3.) It seems possible that this was originally to the right of the doorway, and that at this point, besides the jambs of the doorway itself, there were two other upright shafts fixed into the upper surface of the low surrounding wall.

reservoir cut out of the rock, and originally, no doubt, like other cisterns of Goulâs, roofed in with the aid of limestone beams.

The appearance of this small low-walled building in so conspicuous a position, with the large reservoir in front of it, had greatly excited my curiosity during successive visits to this site. Certain religious representations on some recently discovered rings and intaglios of Mycenæan date seem to throw fresh light on the matter. All these agree in exhibiting a votary or *adorante* before a hypæthral shrine containing one or more sacred trees—in some cases associated with “baetys” or pillars of stone, one of which, on a ring from Knôsos, stands in the doorway of the enclosure, and takes the characteristic shape of the Aphroditê of Paphos. In the low-walled hypæthral building of Goulâs, with its loftier doorway and adjacent tank, one is tempted to see a Mycenæan shrine of the same class—it may be, of greater antiquity than the Cypriote sanctuary.

The upper end of the “Agora” is dominated by two massive towers, one 6·50 m. square externally, the other of more irregular outline, with a connecting wall between. These towers and the cross-wall are of more advanced construction than most of the masonry, but there can be no doubt of their Mycenæan character. Just by the eastern tower there is a gap in the connecting wall through which a road may have approached the ridge of the Northern Akropolis. It is hard, indeed, to see how any one coming from the Port entrance of the town could have approached it otherwise.

But the main entrance to this Northern Citadel seems to have been through the Ward to the West of the “Agora” already described. The lower course of the road cannot be clearly made out, owing to the vast masses of ruined masonry which encumber the hill-side, but there are some curious foundations just below the actual peak, which seem to show that there was here a final and inmost gateway (E in general plan). The arrangement of this is indicated by the accompanying rough sketch (Fig. 4) and plan (Fig. 5), from which it will be seen that there was a main passage, 7 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, flanked to the left by the remains of a massive wall about 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, beyond which is a second narrower opening 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide. On each side of these and between are four square pillars, which must have originally supplied an architectural unity to the double entrance.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

We have here apparently a foot-way and a chariot-way separated by a massive wall, recalling the arrangement of the Sea-Gate at Pompeii. As to the further course of any road-way there is no evidence,



INMOST GATE OF N. AKROPOLIS.

FIG. 4.

though opposite the wider entrance an angle has been cut out of the rock suggestive of a sudden turn of the road to the right preparatory to a final ascent to the round tower about 25 ft. above this at the summit of the peak. It is possible, however, that the enclosure—of exception-

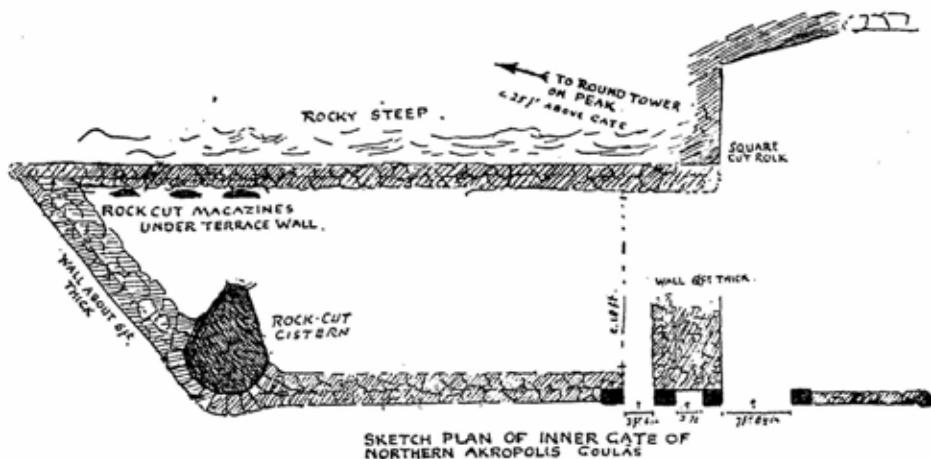


FIG. 5.

ally massive construction—entered by this inner gate, may be an outer court of the Akropolis castle, or palace, and that no further ascent from this point was made on wheels.

The court contains a polygonal cistern in its North-West corner, and beneath the terrace wall opposite a series of rock-cut magazines. The wall of the enclosure on this side is about 2 yards thick.

Just beyond the angle of cut rock already mentioned is a square recess of a chamber, at the side of which (G in general plan) are massive rock-cut steps, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. These afforded access to the crest of the peak, at a point from which a short gradual slope leads to the round tower on its summit platform. The round tower (F in general plan) is the culminating feature in the fortifications of the North Akropolis. It is 27 feet in diameter, of large blocks, the lower layers of which, arranged in a roughly horizontal fashion, are alone preserved. By it is a large semicircular cistern, and a little above, on the North-West spur of the summit, the foundations of a small oblong chamber. A spur of wall running down the steep below the tower brings it into relation with the court of the double gateway below, and this fact, as well as the rock-cut stairs leading up to it from a dependency of the same court on the other side, confirms the conclusion, already suggested, that both court and tower are integral parts of the same peak castle—perhaps the fortified palace of the Mycenæan prince who held sway in Goulàs. On the wall of the tower the Italian explorer, Dr. Taramelli,* recently noticed a rounded limestone block tapering somewhat to a flat top. It is undoubtedly a Mycenæan base, of the regular type, and gives a clue to the date of the building. Dr. Taramelli's photographic view of the tower and base is reproduced, with his kind permission, in Fig. 6.

It is within the limits of the Northern Akropolis in its widest extent that the most important dwelling-houses are collected. The whole eastern side of the hill has been cut with a series of terraces, each supported by a massive wall of the usual roughly horizontal structure, and each of which may be regarded as an additional inner line of defence of the ancient city. Between the summit platform and the little Church of St. Andonis (K in general plan) there are eight principal terraces, with supporting walls of ten or more feet in height, besides lesser tiers.

The lowest of these is of very massive construction, and clearly the outer Akropolis wall rather than a mere supporting wall of a terrace.

* See Meriani, *Antichità Cretesi*, pp. 118, 119, and Fig. 73, where it is seen on a part of the foundations of the round tower.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

It is about five feet broad, and in places still a dozen feet high, and may be traced in a long sweep, following the outline of the hill, from the land gate of the North Akropolis for a space of about 250 yards, till it finally abuts on the precipitous northern rocks. Seen from below this, the view of the massive ruins of this Akropolis is stupendous, the Cyclopæan walls rising tier above tier up the rocky steep, each terrace

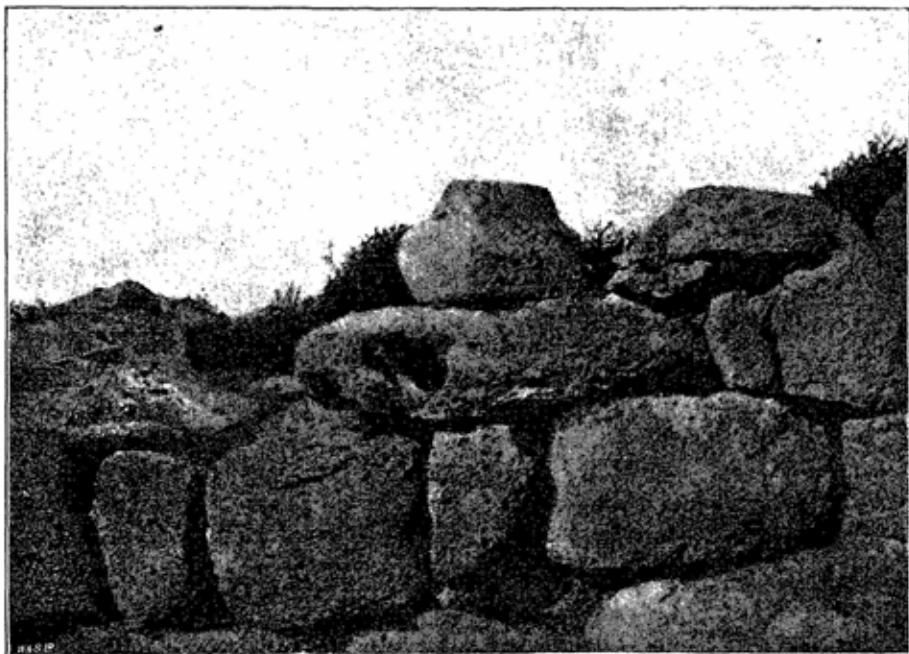


FIG. 6.—CIRCULAR TOWER, ON THE NORTHERN ACROPOLIS.

Reproduced, by permission, from a photograph of D. Antonio Taramelli.

supporting, amidst great masses of débris, a labyrinth of ancient houses, the lower walls of which are still preserved.

The line of massive wall described does not indeed represent the final extent of the town on this side, as there are many terraces with foundations of houses beyond it, and a row of rock-cut magazines may be seen at its foot in the neighbourhood of the Church of St. Andonis, where is also a well-preserved primæval cistern still in use (Fig. 11).

The long narrow spaces on which the houses are built have reacted on their general plan, which is, as a rule, much elongated. They are of great variety, from those forming a single chamber to houses with four or five rooms, and often with an outer court as well, and a rock-cut cistern near. The single chambered are the most numerous, and the larger houses are in fact nothing more than multiplications of this simplest type. They are generally, on the narrow terraces at least, of oblong outline, and their doorways are flanked by two massive up-



FIG. 7.—PART OF THE FRONT WALL OF HOUSE H (FIG. 8).

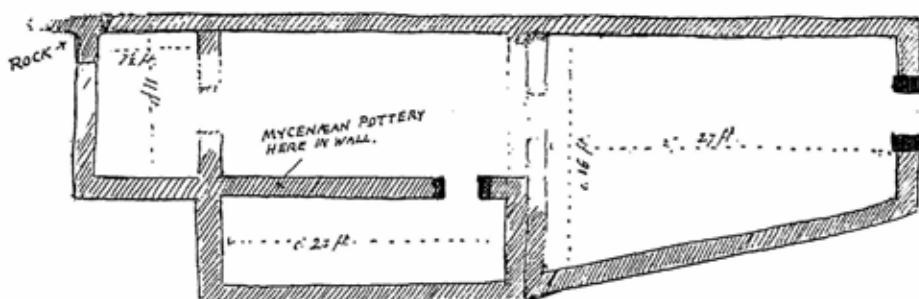
right blocks or stone door-posts, rudely hewn. The walls of the houses, of which an example taken near St. Andonis will be seen in Fig. 7,* are generally formed of large roughly polygonal blocks, the interstices of which are filled with smaller pieces of stone, and there is often an attempt at horizontality in the layers, as in the better built of the terrace walls.

In Figs. 8 and 9 are given plans of two of the larger houses of the

* From a photograph by Mr. J. L. Myres: cf. ground-plan, Fig. 8.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

Northern Akropolis. Fig. 8 (H in general plan) shows a plan of a house with four compartments, the first, of irregular outline, being a

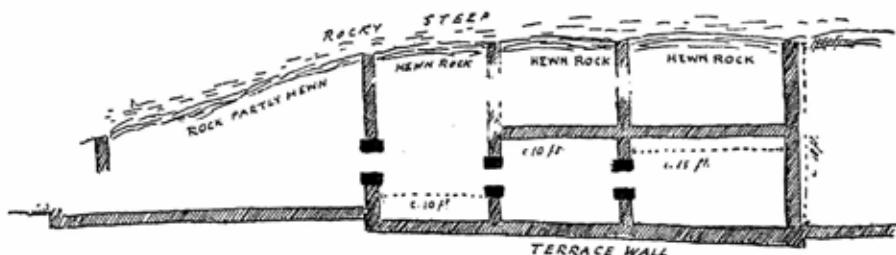


PLAN OF HOUSE
WITH FOUR CHAMBERS.
H. IN PLAN

FIG. 8.

separate construction from the others. A fragment of Mycenaean pottery was found by me in the wall of the second chamber.

The other house (Fig. 9), (J in general plan) has five rooms, as well as an entrance court; access could only have been gained to it by



PLAN OF HOUSE
WITH FIVE CHAMBERS.
J. IN PLAN.

FIG. 9.

steps up the rock from a small court containing a cistern on the terrace below. Three of the rooms of the house had their stone door-posts

standing. The inner wall of the house was simply hewn out of the rock.

Between the Northern and Southern Citadel heights of Goulâs is a remarkable crater-like hollow, the formation of which is mainly due to two causes, the decomposition of the limestone rock by the action of the carbonic acid in the rain-water, and the removal of the absorbed elements by subterranean channels.* The crater thus formed contained a distinct quarter of the ancient city, and shows many ancient foundations, while others may have been covered by an alluvial deposit which has collected in its bottom. Many large cisterns are observable in this quarter.

This hollow town is flanked by the terraces of the road (D D D in general plan) which leads along the foot of South Akropolis heights to the remains of what may be called the Port Gate (P in general plan). Towards its western end the crater slightly narrows, and is shut in by a more or less straight ridge protected externally by a cross wall which links to fortified outworks of the Port Gate, with a precipitous spur of the North Akropolis.

The northern section of the cross-wall, though it has an external tower, has been screened later by a second wall with a curving outline, the two forming together a kind of elongated enclosure (N in general plan) with a gate at the lower end. For an enemy, however, to have approached on this side would seem almost impossible, since the cross ridge at the end of the crater on which these fortifications stand is sufficiently defended below by a precipitous steep towering over the watery plain of Lakonia. At certain seasons of the year the greater part of this plain is completely inundated, and in ancient times, when the rainfall was probably greater, it must have formed a shallow lake.

What then was the purpose of the narrow fortified enclosure approached through a regular gate on the top of the ridge? There can, I think, be little doubt that it closed the lower end of a rock stair-

* By a strange error in Dr. Mariani's small general plan of Goulâs, a stream with many tributaries is seen running out from this hollow, the western end of which is removed for the purpose. A geological explanation of the action of this imaginary stream is even appended. All signs of the fortifications beyond, or of the quarter about the Port Gate are omitted. The field for exploration here, however, is so vast that I can only suspect that future travellers will find equal lacunae in my own work.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

case, leading to the peak castle of the Northern Akropolis, and formed an avenue of approach to it from the Port Road. There are indeed indications that a roadway led along the ridge from its southern extremity where it must have communicated with the main road to the harbour, which at this point enters the town through a somewhat complicated outwork. Beyond this point I succeeded in tracing the Port Road for some distance, winding along the flanks of the hills in the direction of the haven, in classical times known as Latō pros Kamara, now Hagios Nikolaos.

From this quarter above described, near the Port Gate, rock-cut steps imperfectly preserved indicate the direction of an ancient road to the Southern Akropolis. On the side of the Hollow Town or Crater this second citadel is protected by precipitous rocks, and its most convenient access is to the east from the inland road, about one hundred yards before reaching the gate of the Northern Akropolis. The ruins on the side of the hill are here very badly preserved, but about half-way up are traces of an ancient road, and towards the summit well-defined architectural lines again become visible.

Following the summit ridge of the S. Akropolis from the west we pass a two-chambered house and two square buildings, perhaps originally watch-towers, the second of which is coated internally with red-painted plaster.

Beyond this is the most important building of this Akropolis, and in many respects of the whole of Goulas, which I had the good fortune to discover in the spring of 1894 (M in general plan). Its arrangement will be best understood from the accompanying plan and sketch. It has been since visited and described by the Italian archæologist, my friend, A. Taramelli, to whom I had communicated my discovery.*

The most salient feature of the whole is an oblong chamber with projecting lateral walls outside its entrance, from the ends of which on both sides two steps, the upper apparently intended as a bench,

* L. Mariani, *Antichità Cretesi*, p. 119 *segg.*, where Dr. Taramelli's supplementary account of Goulas is given. I cannot, however, agree with the following remark of Dr. Mariani: "Il solo edificio che con qualche probabilità si può far discendere ai tempi storici è il tempio scoperto dall' Evans, ed esaminato dal mio collega, sul' Akropoli sud, benchè la sua costruzione arcaicissima, rilevata dallo stesso Taramelli possa rimontare ai *preludi* della architettura propriamente detta Greca." I have given reasons below for believing that this building dates from the most flourishing Mycenaean period, perhaps the fourteenth century B.C. Neither can I share the opinion of the Italian archæologists that it is a temple.

run as far as the doorway.* The doorway itself is flanked by two upright blocks forming the lower part of the original door-posts,† and on the upper step immediately to the left of the door is seen an oblong mortice-hole, which must have served some purpose in connexion with it. On the corresponding slab to the right there is no mortice.

In front of this chamber, which is of specially massive construction, combining both rough polygonal and partially squared blocks, is another rectangular enclosure, which, from the way it fits on to the lateral projections already described, is evidently a later addition.‡ From the comparative absence of débris within the area it appears to have been a court rather than an actual chamber, though its entrance face is flanked, like the other, by two projecting walls, without, however, the accompanying steps. Between the ends of these projecting walls, traversing the whole width of the façade, is a descent of a single step—a feature which recalls the steps in a similar position outside the *megara* of Tiryns and Mycenæ.

These two rectangular enclosures described lie nearly east and west, the first of the two doors being at the western end. Flanking the first enclosure, or court, is a further rectangular compartment, with remains of a wall beyond, and these now imperfect foundations show that what seems to have been the original chamber with the stone seats beside its doorway, eventually formed part of a more complex building.

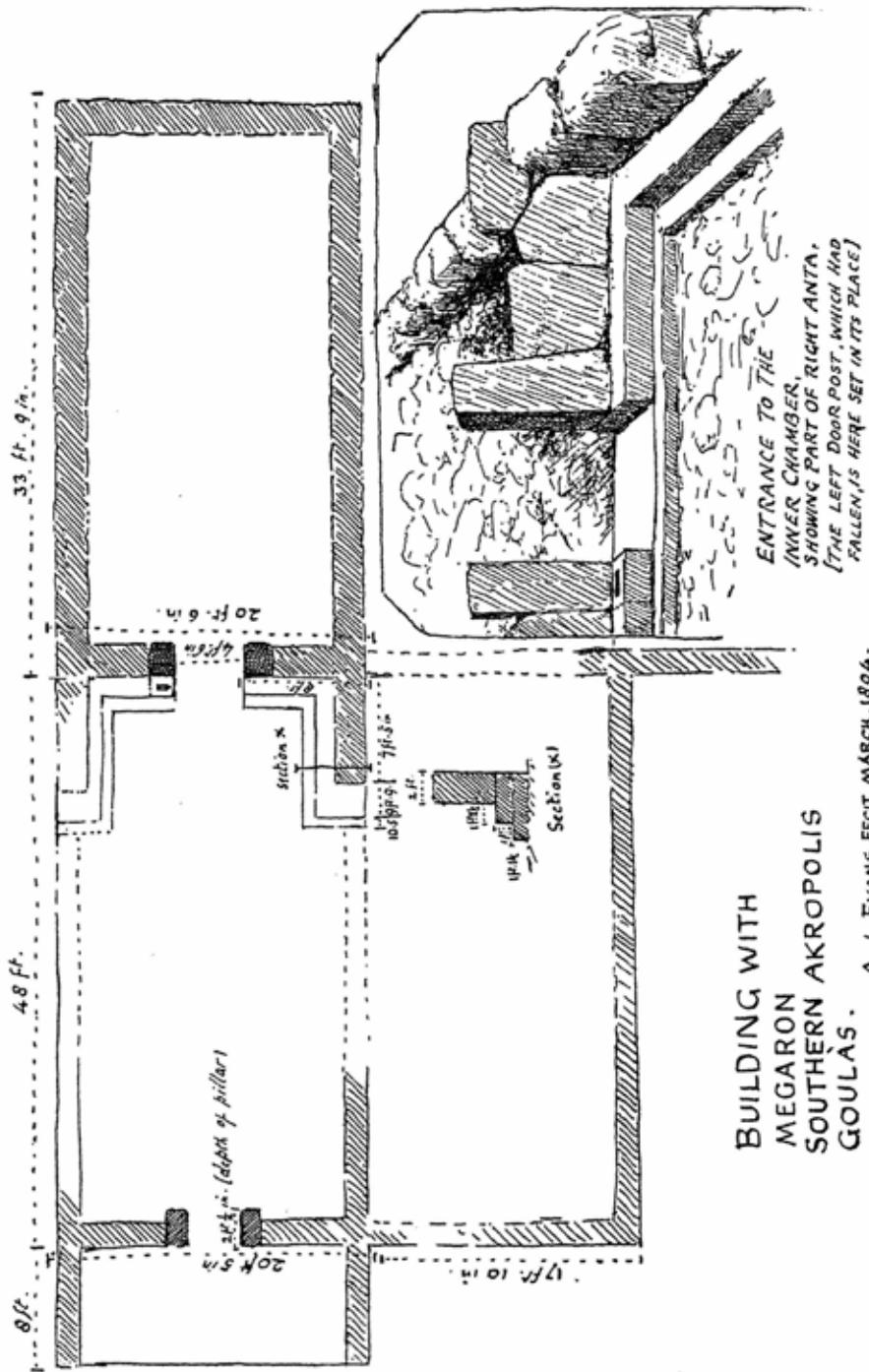
These circumstances point to the fact that we have here rather to do with an important dwelling-house—perhaps the seat of the prince or chieftain who had charge of the Southern Akropolis—than with a temple. The great masses of fallen stone which choke the principal chamber tend to show that it was originally roofed over, but the evidence at our disposal inclines to the view that the true Mycenæan sanctuary was hypæthral—indeed, in the small, low-walled enclosure of the Agora I have already ventured to recognise such a shrine.

The comparison which naturally suggests itself between the ground

* In a section of these, given by Dr. Taramelli (Mariani, *op. cit.* p. 124, Fig. 78), the steps are, by some unaccountable error, shown on both sides of the projecting side wall. In his general plan of the building (Fig. 76) they appear correctly.

† One of these, which had been overturned, is restored to its position in the sketch (Fig. 10).

‡ In Dr. Taramelli's plan (*op. cit.* p. 123, Fig. 76) the front enclosure is much wider than the other, and with thicker walls. My own measurements make the width practically identical, 20 ft. 5 in. for the external width of the front enclosure, and 20 ft. 6 in. for that of the inner chamber or *megaron*.



BUILDING WITH
MEGARON
SOUTHERN AKROP
GOULAS.

FIG. 10.

plan of this chamber with its projecting lateral walls and a simple form of Greek temple—*ναός ἐν παραστάσιν*—proves no more than that the temple form preserves that of a primitive dwelling. As a matter of fact—except that there are here no traces of *antæ* or *parastades*, the ground plan without the steps strongly recalls that of the Palace of prehistoric Troy.* It is practically identical with that of the ordinary type of house both in the Second and the Sixth, or Mycenæan city of Hissarlik.† The type, it will be seen, is of great antiquity in the Ægean lands, but the Trojan comparisons show that the proportions of the projecting side-walls agree far better with the work of the Mycenæan period than with that of the more primitive stratum. In the buildings of the Second City they stand out as much as the whole breadth of the building. In the Sixth City their proportional length is considerably reduced, and in some cases‡ approaches very nearly to that of the Goulâs chamber. In the *megaron* of the Palace at Mycenæ we find nearly the same ratio. There can be little doubt that we have here the *megaron* of a large dwelling-house of Mycenæan date, which, like those of the Palaces of Tiryns and Mycenæ, was approached by a fore-court and flanked by other subsidiary chambers, which probably formed the “haremlik.”

The outside wall of the principal chamber or *megaron* presents on minute inspection a remarkable peculiarity. It was apparently originally coated with cement of the same kind as that used on the inner walls of the rock-cut cisterns, and in which crushed pottery seems to have been a principal ingredient. The application of this cement in the house and the terrace below, called by Spratt “the Temple of Britomartis,” shows that cement of the same character was used as a foundation for the painted stucco which in that case adorned the inner walls. The natural conclusion to be drawn from this is that the building of the Southern Akropolis, or, at least, its principal chamber, was decorated externally with painted stucco. The use, indeed, of fresco painting for outside decoration by the Mycenæans is sufficiently illustrated by the portals of some of the tombs of the lower town of Mycenæ, excavated by Dr. Tsountas.

* Schliemann, *Troja*. Plan VII. A.

† Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 1893, Taf. I, II D, II K., &c.

‡ E.g. Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 1893. Taf. II, VI. A.

GOULAS: THE CITY OF ZEUS.

About a hundred yards to the south-east of this building the South Akropolis rises to another summit, and, on the outer side of this, part of the course a circuit wall can be followed for some distance. Below this again to the east are scattered remains of a further suburb or *proasteion*.

We have now briefly surveyed the chief quarters of the inner City of Goulas, the Northern and Southern Akropolis, and the Hollow Town or Crater and its outworks by the Port Gate. It remains to call atten-



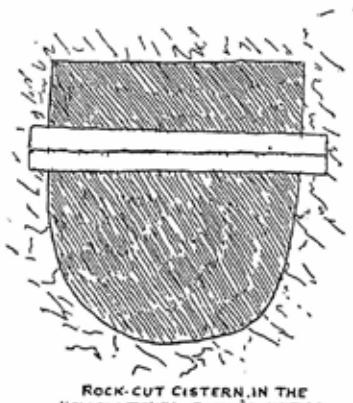
FIG. II.—CISTERN NEAR HAGIOS ANDONIS.

tion to certain phenomena common, in a lesser or greater degree, to all these quarters.

A very interesting feature of the ruins is the great variety of cisterns that they exhibit, some of the principal of which are marked RR on the general plan. Some of these, as one near the Church of St. Andonis, Fig. II,* and another in a small chamber outside the Port Gate, are still in use. In Fig. II is seen part of the pavement

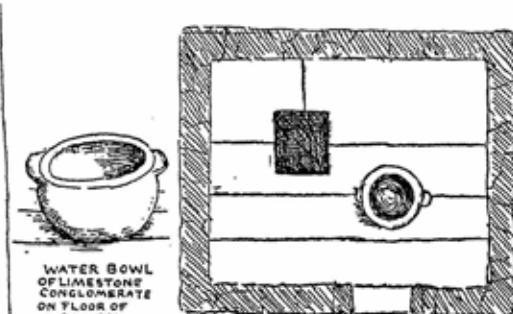
* From a photograph by Mr. J. L. Myres.

with its well-opening and a large limestone basin, the interior of which shows a sub-conical section. That outside the Port Gate, of which a plan is given in Fig. 12, has an even better preserved pavement and basin, which is of limestone conglomerate and has an ear on either side (see sketch in Fig. 12). These cisterns, like the large cistern in the Agora, are of rectangular shape. Others exhibit polygonal basins like that in the court of the building given in Fig. 5 (E in general plan), which, on the terrace side, is enclosed by massive blocks. A fine example of an apsidal form is seen in Fig. 13; in this case two massive limestone beams of the original roof are seen *in situ*, spanning a width



ROCK-CUT CISTERN IN THE HOLLOW TOWN, GOULAS, WITH 2 LIMESTONE BEAMS OF ROOF, 11 FEET LONG, IN POSITION.

FIG. 13.



PAVED CISTERN CHAMBER OUTSIDE PORT-GATE, GOULAS.

FIG. 12.

of 10 feet, and 1 foot broad by half a foot thick. This apsidal cistern is enclosed in a square building, in the upper part of the Hollow Town near the Agora.

The cisterns are mainly excavated in the rock and coated internally with a hard cement which seems to have been largely formed of powdered pottery. Closely allied to the cisterns are the magazines, many of them tunnelled out beneath the terrace walls. There are several of these along the north-western steep of the Hollow Town, which is also specially rich in cisterns.

In the terrace and outer walls of Goula and the principal buildings, the size of the blocks is often considerable. In the walls on either

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side of the outer gate of the North Akropolis blocks may be seen 6 feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ high. In the round tower at the summit there are blocks also very massive, ranging up to 3 feet 3 inches by 3 feet, and 2 feet 8 inches in depth.* Comparing the Goulas measurements with those of Cyclopean constructions to be found elsewhere in Crete, they can only exceptionally be said to represent the most massive style. No wall, for instance, presents quite such a colossal aspect as a wall of one of the most primitive buildings, of what I have elsewhere described as the Town of Castles, at Omalès, where one stone attains the dimensions of 5 feet in length by 4 feet 4 inches in height. This exceptionally massive style, it may be observed, is generally associated with a roughly polygonal structure, which in its origin at least goes back to times long anterior to the great days of Mycenæ. The Mycenæans, as we know from the Tholos-tombs of Mycenæ itself, were quite capable of executing squared horizontal work, and a relief on a fragment of a steatite vase obtained by me on the site of Knōsos shows an altar with regular isodomic masonry. For the sake, however, of economy of labour, the older rough style was no doubt largely adhered to during this period, and at Goulas, for instance, we see on either side of the outer land-gate of the North Akropolis a quasi-horizontal structure employed, but farther along the wall the blocks are less worked and fitted more roughly according to their natural shape, with smaller stones to fill up the interstices. The towers above the Agora show, as already pointed out, a somewhat advanced style of squared masonry (see Fig. 2).

The thickness of the larger walls at Goulas is from 5 to 6 feet, which cannot compare with that of the circuit walls at Tiryns. On the other hand, they display a Tirynthian characteristic in their not infrequent short square returns, examples of which may be seen in the inner wall of the entrance ward of the North Akropolis (Fig. 2), and the terraced wall below the five-chambered house given in Fig. 9.

That part of the constructions may be referred to a more primitive period is probable enough, but on the whole, the existing remains of the city seem to belong to the great days of the Mycenæan civilisation. Direct evidences of date are supplied by the Mycenæan base

* Dr. A. Taramelli has given the dimensions of several of these. (Mariani, *Antichità Cretesi*, pp. 116, 117.)

of the North Akropolis Tower, by the proportions of the *megaron*, with its projecting side-walls on the Southern Akropolis, and the carefully-hewn slabs of its steps or benches. Near the second gate of the North Akropolis and the Port Gate of the Agora, are triangular blocks which seem to have fitted into *tympana* of the Mycenæan type, and in the wall of a chamber of the four-roomed house (Fig. 8) was a fragment of Mycenæan pottery.

These indications agree with the general character of the smaller relics found in and about Goulâs. A few objects, such as a grey steatite bowl, figured in my account of the Hagios Onuphrios deposit,* may belong to the more primitive period. But the great majority of dateable objects discovered here are of the Mycenæan class. Among these I was able in all either to acquire or obtain impressions of fifteen Mycenæan gems, and also of a perforated cornelian cut in the shape of the typical Mycenæan shield. Among the more interesting subjects represented in the intaglios may be mentioned a group of three *agrimia*, or Cretan wild-goats, a seated lion, and a lion and sphinx; two wild-goats as supporters of a columnar palm-tree—a device much recalling the early tympanum relief at Bologna, and a flying fish, the ancient $\chi\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu$, still known as $\chi\epsilon\lambda\delta\omega\nu\psi\alpha\rho\nu$ to the modern Greeks, a frequent Mycenæan device in Crete. There were besides a rude design of the three-columned front of a gabled building, which, like other Cretan gem types of the kind, may represent the wooden hut of the country, a double axe, and several forms of vases with curving handles suggestive of some of those held by the Keftiu in Egyptian wall-paintings. It was in company with one of these that the terracotta ox and a vase engraved with Cretan linear characters, described in my Pictographs,† was found under a terrace near Hagios Andonis.

A very interesting decorative design, consisting of palm-leaves and spirals, has been fully discussed by me elsewhere,‡ and with the help of this and a template instrument found among the Cretan pictographs, a ceiling design has been reconstructed of a character resembling that of Orchomenos and of XVIIIth and XIXth

* In *Cretan Pictographs, &c.* (Quaritch, 1895), p. 120, Fig. 113.

† P. 8 [277] *segg.*

‡ *Cretan Pictographs, &c.*, p. 50 [319] *segg.*

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Egyptian tombs. During my last visit to Goula I picked up a piece of Mycenaean painted pottery, the colours yellow and reddish brown, the design of which when completed (see Fig. 14) gives a spiral pattern of the same class. We have here a fresh hint of the

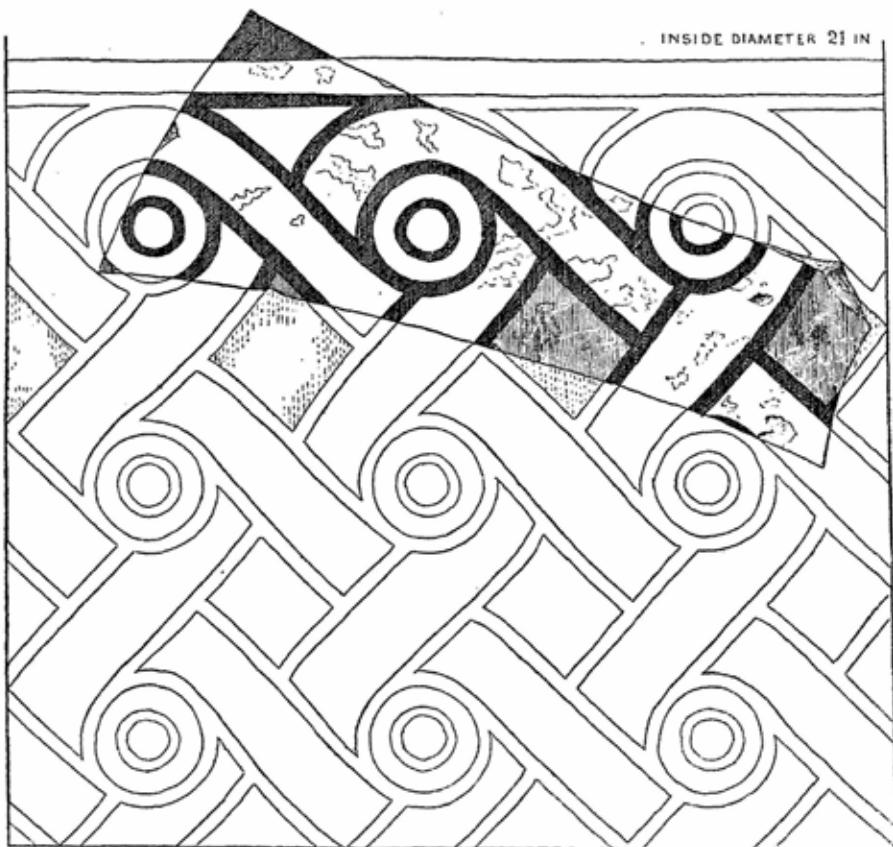


FIG. 14.—MYCENÆAN POTSHERD WITH SPIRAL DESIGN.

system of decoration which adorned some of the painted halls of the ancient city.

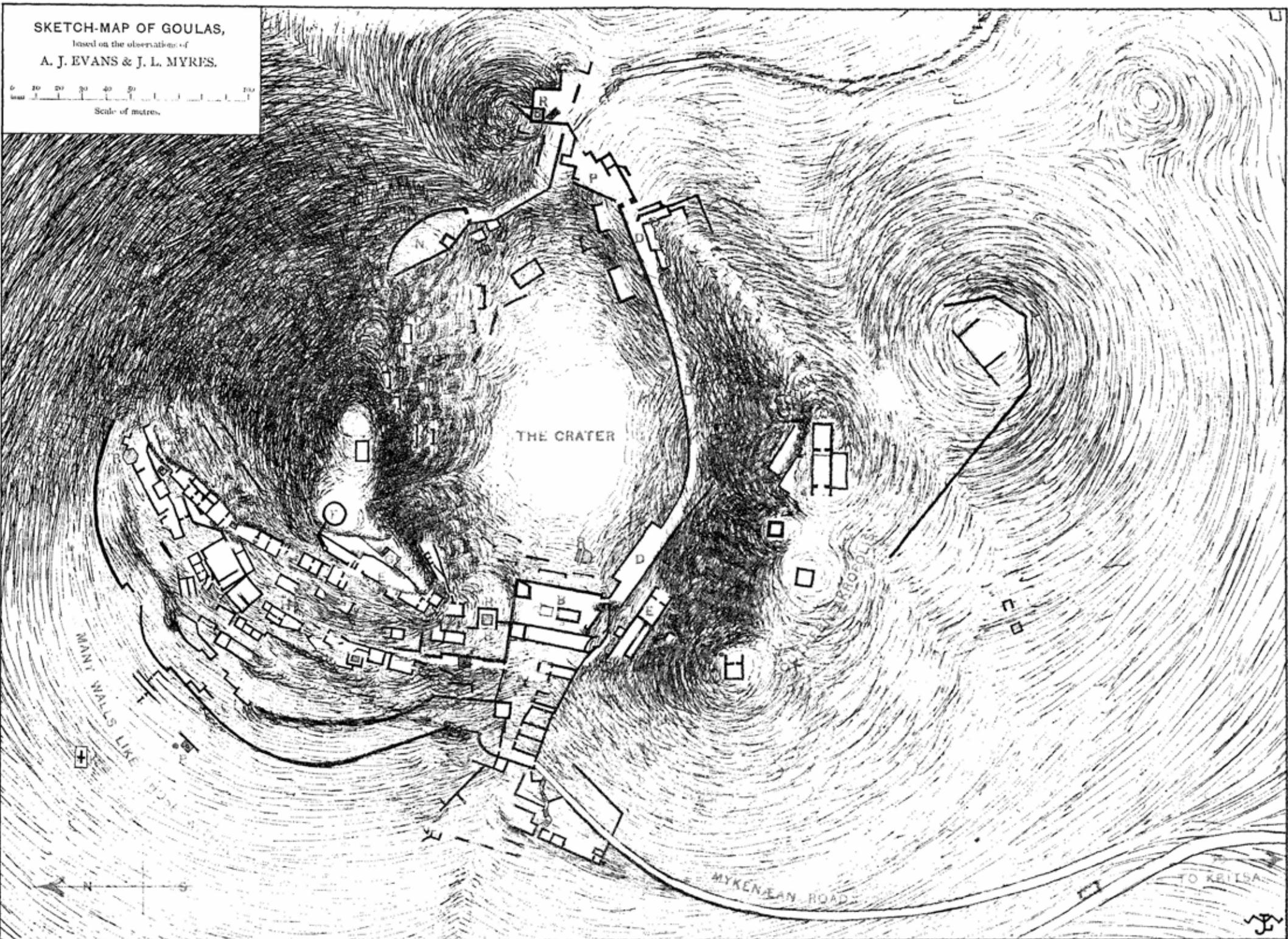
A stamped fragment exhibiting a "rosette" ornament takes us to the same field of comparisons. It should be more truly described as a daisy or marguerite, the favourite device of the Egyptian enamelled roundels which—among the relics of Akhenaten's Palace at Tell-

el-Amarne—are seen in a purely naturalistic form with their white petals and yellow eye. Another terra-cotta fragment shows a stamped medallion closely resembling some of those on the clay coffin-lids of Assarlik* found in tombs of late Mycenæan date, containing fibulæ, which supply the antecedent stage to the Dipylon types. A painted sherd obtained by Mr. Myres exhibited concentric circles of the Cretan geometrical style, but otherwise the fragments of pottery that came under my notice—for the most part bits of rough pithoi—seemed to belong to the earlier period. Of later Hellenic relics I observed no trace within the limits of the ancient citadels, though, as already noticed, such are found near the little Church of Hagios Andonis, immediately outside the eastern wall, and again at a lower level of the hill near the modern road. Near the point where the ancient causeway joins the road to Neapolis a deposit of Greek terra-cotta statuettes was found, of which I saw a fragmentary example representing a male figure naked to the waist and apparently leaning on a column. Lower down the valley there was also found a remarkable archaic terra-cotta relief of a sphinx dating from the seventh century B.C. It would seem that the Dorian invaders treated the old indigenous city as the Saxons did so many of the Roman Chesters in Britain, and made their new settlement outside the ancient walls. But there is no evidence that anything like a city grew up in the immediate neighbourhood of Goulâs in Hellenic times, and, as already pointed out, the more probable site of the inland Latô is to be sought at Kritsâ.

* See W. R. Paton, *Report on Tombs from the Neighbourhood of Halicarnassus*. J. H. S. viii. p. 74 *segg.* Compare especially Fig. 25, p. 77.

SKETCH-MAP OF GOULAS,
based on the observations of
A. J. EVANS & J. L. MYRES.

Scale of metres.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60





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